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Episcopacy in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus

A Dissertation
for the Acquirement of the Degree of Doctor of Theology
submitted to the Faculty of Theology
of the University of Basel, Switzerland

by
John E. Stam
of
San José, Costa Rica

Band III der Theologischen Dissertationen, herausgegeben
von Bo Reicke



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CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| I. INTRODUCTION | 5 |
| The Early Church Orders | 5 |
| The Hippolytean Church Orders | 7 |
| II. THE ORDINATION OF THE BISHOP | 17 |
| The Election of the Bishop. | 17 |
| The Ordination Rite | 18 |
| The Ordination Prayer | 21 |
| Ordination to Other Orders | 41 |
| Conclusion | 59 |
| III. THE AUTHORITY OF THE BISHOP | 66 |
| The Titles of the Bishop | 66 |
| Explicit Assertions of Episcopal Authority | 71 |
| Functions of the Bishop | 72 |
| IV. THE BASIS OF EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY. | 97 |
| Church Order | 97 |
| Ordination | 98 |
| High Priesthood. | 99 |
| Apostolic Succession | 101 |
| Apostolic Tradition | 113 |
| Conclusion | 115 |
| V. SUMMARY | 118 |
| Bibliography | 120 |
| Curriculum Vitae | 122 |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The early Church Orders

The development of church order in the earliest Christian centuries is undoubtedly one of the most elusive problems in church history. Eighty years ago Friedrich Loofs observed that the source materials for this investigation could well be likened to a kaleidoscope, "das man so und anders schütteln kann",¹ each finding therein the particular pattern he prefers. On more than one issue, according to Loofs, the verdict of historical science can be only a humble but honest "ignoramus et ignorabimus" (p. 658). Today, although the intervening decades have brought significant progress on many questions, Loofs' analogy and his sage verdict are still apropos.

For the study of the varied processes and influences that shaped the evolving pattern of church order between the New Testament period and the emergence of the fully-developed system of monarchical episcopacy, three classes of source materials are available: the New Testament documents, the writings of the Church Fathers (plus evidence from heretical authors), and the various ancient Church Orders.

The New Testament, however, presents no fixed and explicit form of church government. Not even the pastoral epistles could be described as a systematic treatise de ecclesia or as a Church Order. Similarly, the scattered references in the early Church Fathers give only a fragmentary picture of the phases of this development; they usually disclose no clearly delineated church order. Seldom, if ever, do they discuss church office and church order per se; their comments on the subject are tangential to other concerns, such as schism, heresy, or Christology.

It is for these reasons that the ancient Church Orders constitute so helpful a guide and so wholesome a corrective to our use of the other data relevant to early Christian ecclesiology. In these documents the problems of church order are the immediate subject of discussion. Furthermore, they were composed in the name of the corporate Christian community and generally recapitulated decades of church life and tradition. Thus their witness is of the greatest significance.

¹ Fr. Loofs, "Die urchristliche Gemeindeverfassung mit spezieller Beziehung auf Loening und Harnack", Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 63 (1890), p. 637.

The earliest of the Church Orders known to us is the Didache (Did.), probably written in Syria (or Egypt) sometime between 90 and 160 A.D.² Evidently the product of a small congregation still strongly marked by Jewish characteristics, it clearly knows no monarchical bishop.³ It recognizes inspired prophets and teachers as the proper leaders of the congregation (Did. 10. 7, 11. 3f) but adds that the faithful should also appoint (cheirotonē-
sate) for themselves bishops and deacons, whom they should honor together with the prophets and teachers (Did. 15. 1ff).⁴

The second of the extant Church Orders is the Apostolic Tradition (Ap. Tr.), ascribed to Hippolytus.⁵ This Order and its derived documents will be described below in detail.

Two later Church Orders, both pseudo-Apostolic and based on local Oriental traditions, have been preserved: Didascalia Apostolorum (Didasc.) and the Apostolic Church Order (Ap. Ch. Or.). Didasc. was probably written in North-Syria sometime in the third century.⁶ The author, apparently of Jewish origin, was remarkably well-versed in medicine but only a mediocre theologian. The work pretends to have been written in a secret Apostolic conclave immediately following the Council of Acts 15. In

² F. E. Vokes, The Riddle of the Didache (1938), argues that Did. was a Montanist apologetic concealed behind contrived archaism. J. Colson, L'évêque dans les communautés primitives (1951), pp. 125-131, proposes as an alternative that Did. was a catholic Irenikon designed to reconcile the Montanist charismatic hierarchy and the catholic institutional hierarchy. J. Quasten, Patrology I (1950), pp. 36f, suggested 100-150 A.D., but in his revisions for the Spanish ed., Patrologia I (1961), pp. 42-45, he added strong arguments, based on the work of Audet, Glover, and Adam, in favor of a date within the first century.

³ Quasten (n. 2, Eng. ed.), p. 33.

⁴ See "Church Order in the Didache", B. H. Streeter, The Primitive Church (1929), pp. 144-152; C. H. Turner, "The Early Christian Ministry and the Didache", Studies in Early Church History, Oxford (1912), pp. 1-32; C. C. Richardson, "The Church Order of the Didache", Early Christian Fathers (1953), pp. 163-166.

⁵ Critical English ed. by G. Dix, The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome (1937). French translation by B. Botte, La Tradition apostolique (1946).

⁶ Greek text in F. X. Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum I (1905), pp. 1-385. Engl. transl. by R. H. Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum (1929). Quasten dates Didasc. in the first decade of the third century, Lex. Th. K. VI (1961), p. 238.

form it is a collection of hortatory sermons but in substance it is a Church Order addressed to the entire congregation, often referred to as "the Brotherhood". It has a high regard for the competence and responsibility of the laity, exhorting them especially to the study of Holy Scripture (Didasc. 1.7.17, 1.10.4). In many respects it shows a more developed form of church order than is found in Ap. Tr., and its discussion of the episcopal office has "einen sakralen, erhöht feierlichen Klang".⁷

In the so-called Apostolic Church Order⁸ each of the Apostles, gathered by the command of the Lord, pronounces a canon of church order as he is moved by the Spirit. In its present form the Ap. Ch. Or. seems to be an Egyptian fourth-century revision and expansion of materials drawn from the second or third centuries. While the final text shows a more developed church order than that of Didasc., it reflects clear traces of earlier conditions when Alexandria was the only episcopal see and presbyters still led the rapidly growing daughter congregations.⁹

The purpose of the present investigation is to examine one of these Church Orders, that ascribed to Hippolytus, in the light of its derived documents, of other Church Orders, and of the parallel witness of the Church Fathers. We shall attempt to discover how it understood the nature, scope, and theological bases of the office and authority of the bishop.

The Hippolytean Church Order

The historical problem. Scholars have long debated the historical questions involved in the inter-related family of Church Orders represented by

- Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions (Ap. Cons.)
 - Canons of Hippolytus (Cans. Hipp.)
 - Testament of Our Lord (Test. Dom.)
 - Egyptian Church Order (Eg. Ch. Or.)
-

⁷ H. v. Campenhausen, Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht (1953), p. 263. See also J. Colson, "L'évêque dans la Didascalie", La vie spirituelle (1951), pp. 271-290.

⁸ Greek text in Th. Schermann, Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung (1914), pp. 12-34. Germ. transl. in J. W. Bickell, Geschichte des Kirchenrechts II (1843), pp. 107-132.

⁹ A. Harnack, Die Quellen der sog. Apostolischen Kirchenordnung (1886), pp. 12-34. J. V. Bartlet, Church-Life and Church-Order (1943), pp. 99-105, though rejecting Harnack's two-source theory, offers convincing arguments for an underlying source from 200-250 A.D.

F. X. Funk argued that Ap. Cons. was the earliest and Cans. Hipp. the latest; H. Achelis proposed exactly the opposite order; and I. Rahmani, who published Test. Dom. in 1899, claimed that this Syriac document was the source of the other three.¹⁰ In 1900 E. Hauler published his edition of the Latin Verona fragments, thus giving the study of this problem a more solid textual basis.¹¹ Then the independent, yet strikingly concordant investigations of Eduard Schwartz and R. H. Connolly¹² demonstrated that Hauler's Latin was an earlier, more faithful translation of the Greek document underlying Eg. Ch. Or. and that this document was the source of all the other Church Orders in this family. This conclusion has stood virtually unchallenged.

Both Schwartz and Connolly also argued that this primitive Church Order was composed by Hippolytus, the well known presbyter under Victor (189-197) and Zephyrinus (198-217) and then counter-bishop against Callistus (217-222), Urban (223-230) and Pontianus (230-235). They concluded that it could be confidently identified as the Apostolike Parádosis, or Apostolic Tradition, included among the works of Hippolytus listed on his statue.¹³ This conclusion has been recognized by the majority of scholars but it has also aroused some vigorous opposition. J. V. Bartlet proposed in his 1924 Birbeck Lectures that a treatise of Hippolytus entitled "Apostolic Tradition concerning Grace-Gifts" had gotten attached to an "Old Syrian Church Order" (written 250-300 A.D.). Later, according to Bartlet, the Hippolytean treatise was dropped, but the parasitical Syrian Church Order continued to bear his name.¹⁴ His theory was based on ingenious but highly speculative historical criticism and has not found favor. Five years later R. Lorentz argued that Eastern elements in the baptismal rite of Eg. Ch. Or. prove it could not have

¹⁰ F. X. Funk, Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen (1891), pp. 269ff; H. Achelis, Die Canones Hippolyti (1891), pp. 212-268; and I. Rahmani, Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi (1899), pp. xviii-xli.

¹¹ E. Hauler, Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta Ueronensis Latina (1900).

¹² E. Schwartz, Über die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen (1910) and R. H. Connolly, The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents (1916).

¹³ Concerning the statue of Hippolytus, found in 1551 along the Via Tiburtina, see J. B. de Rossi, Bullettino di archeologia cristiana (1882), p. 53, and H. Elfers, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts", Abhandlung über Theologie und Kirche, Festschrift für Karl Adam (1952), pp. 169-211.

¹⁴ Bartlet (n. 9), pp. 116-123, 160ff.

originated in Rome.¹⁵ To this H. Elfers and others have responded that the acknowledged writings of Hippolytus not only correspond in content and style to Ap. Tr. but also show most of the same Eastern characteristics, perhaps because their author was born in the East.¹⁶ H. Engberding has vigorously challenged the external evidence for Hippolytean authorship,¹⁷ while P. Nautin has sought to ascribe many of the works of Hippolytus to an unknown "Josephus".¹⁸ These arguments have been subjected to thorough criticism and have not won very wide acceptance.¹⁹

It is probably impossible to prove categorically the Hippolytean authorship of this Church Order, at least in the present state of the textual witness and the external evidences.²⁰ Yet such an assumption answers to the strongest historical probabilities.²¹ For the purposes of this investigation we shall assume that Hippolytus wrote this document and that its original title was Apostolike Parádosis, but we shall avoid basing any decisive arguments upon that assumption.

A further question is when Hippolytus would have written this Church Order. Scholars have traditionally assumed from the polemical tone of the Preface and Epilogue, and the firm

¹⁵ R. Lorentz, De Egyptische Kerkordening en Hippolytus van Rome (1929).

¹⁶ H. Elfers, Die Kirchenordnung Hippolys von Rom (1938).

¹⁷ H. Engberding, "Das angebliche Dokument römischer Liturgie aus dem Beginn des dritten Jahrhunderts", Miscellanea Liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg I (1948), pp. 47-71.

¹⁸ See esp. his Hippolyte et Josipe (1947).

¹⁹ Elfers (n. 13), pp. 169-211; B. Botte, "L'Authenticité de la 'Tradition apostolique' de saint Hippolyte", Rech. Th. Anc. Med. 16 (1949), pp. 177-185, and "Les plus anciennes collections canoniques", L'Orient syrien 5 (1960), pp. 331-349; B. Capelle, "Hippolyte de Rome", Rech. Th. Anc. Med. 17 (1950), pp. 145-174; J. Daniélou, bk. rev. in Rech. Sc. Rel. 35 (1948), pp. 596ff, and Vol. 42 (1954), pp. 585-592.

²⁰ See N. Hamel, "Über das kirchenrechtliche Schrifttum Hippolys", Z. N. W. 36 (1937), pp. 238-250, and Kirche bei Hippolyt von Rom (1951).

²¹ Botte, Rech. Th. Anc. Med. (n. 19), p. 185, after reviewing the striking convergence of evidence, concludes: "Peut-être une telle cascade de coincidences est-elle métaphysiquement possible. Mais l'histoire ne jongle pas avec les possibilités métaphysiques. Une convergence d'indices, telle qu'on la trouve dans le cas de la Tradition apostolique, constitue aux yeux de l'historien une preuve solide".

authority with which the author speaks, that Hippolytus wrote this Order as bishop of his separatist Church. But Gregory Dix has given strong arguments for a date of ca. 215, before Hippolytus was made counter-bishop by his followers, and most scholars have concurred in his conclusion.²² If so, it seems that the erudite presbyter took it upon himself to inform his "ignorant and illiterate" bishop, "unskilled in ecclesiastical definitions" (Hipp., Ref. 9.11.1), about the finer points of church order.

The textual materials. Textual evidence points to the fact that the Hippolytean Church Order was originally written in Greek. But this original Greek text, except for two isolated remnants (Ap. Tr. 25.1f, 28.3ff), has been lost. Hence it must be reconstructed from the extant fragments of a Latin translation and from later Greek and Oriental adaptations. Laborious collation and evaluation of these witnesses can almost always determine the component elements of the original document and the essential outlines of the content, but the resultant text can often be only an approximation of the original Greek.

The Verona Palimpsest. The earliest and best textual witness, though seriously incomplete, is the Latin version (Lat.) published by Hauler in 1900. It is a clumsily literal translation through which the original Greek can often be seen. While the translation is from the time of Ambrose, the present manuscript was made between 486 and 494 A.D. It can be shown that the underlying Greek source had suffered some alterations during the century or more since its original production, and also that the Latin translation includes copyist errors acquired during its career prior to this manuscript. These, however, can almost always be corrected by careful textual criticism. Because the Verona Latin is our earliest source and is an independent translation direct from the Greek, it is, where extant, our best authority. Botte rightly insists that to ignore it "est toujours une aventure périlleuse".²³

²² Dix (n.5), pp. xxxv-xxxvii; he bases his arguments on Ap. Tr. 1.5, 9.2f, 34, and 3.5. So also B. Altaner, Patrologie (6th ed., 1960), p. 47, and Quasten (n. 2, Span. ed.), p. 471. C. C. Richardson, "Date and Setting of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus", Angl. Th. Rev. 30 (1948), pp. 38-44, has suggested the date of 197, just before Zephyrinus mounted the episcopal throne. For similar reasons B. Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church (1961), p. 16, dates Ap. Tr. in the year 200 A.D.

²³ Botte (n. 5), p. 13.

The Egyptian Church Order.²⁴ Eg. Ch. Or. goes back to an early Greek collection consisting of (1) Ap. Ch. Or., (2) Ap. Tr., and (3) an epitome of Ap. Cons. These components, already altered in their Greek text, were originally translated into Sahidic. Th. Schermann argues that this translation was not before 450,²⁵ while Dix gives evidence suggesting a date ca. 500.²⁶

Neither the original Greek compilation nor the original Sahidic translation (sa.) are extant. The present Sahidic version (Sa.),²⁷ which arose several centuries later,²⁸ survives in three manuscripts, of which the earliest (Br. Mus. Or. 1320) was produced in 1006. The present Arabic version (Ar.)²⁹ was derived from the original Sahidic (sa.) through an earlier Arabic (ar.) version (see summary chart below, p. 14). Dix conjectures that Ar. was translated not earlier than the tenth century.³⁰ The present Ethiopic text (Eth.)³¹ is probably derived from the proto-Arabic version (ar.), which in turn was based on the proto-Sahidic (sa.).³² Thus, though probably a tertiary version, Eth. has often escaped omissions, interpolations, and alterations which have crept into Sa. and Ar.³³

²⁴ G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles (1904), gives the Ethiopian, Arabic, and Sahidic texts, with English transl.

²⁵ Schermann (n. 8), p. 7, because of post-Nestorian terminology reflected in Eg. Ch. Or.

²⁶ Dix (n. 5), pp. xlvi, lxiiif.

²⁷ Coptic text and Germ. transl. in W. Till & J. Leipoldt, Der Koptische Text der Kirchenordnung Hippolyts (1954).

²⁸ Dix (n. 5), p. 82, estimates that Sa. arose in 8th or 9th century Egypt.

²⁹ A. Périer, "Les 127 Canons des Apôtres", Patrologie orientale 8 (1912), pp. 590-621, and Horner (n. 24).

³⁰ Dix (n. 5), p. lxiv. The earliest extant ms. of Ar. was copied in the 13th cent.

³¹ H. Duensing, Der Aethiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt (1946), with Germ. transl.

³² So Botte, "Le texte de la trad. apostolique", Rech. Th. Anc. Med. 22 (1955), pp. 162ff. Others argue that Eth. is derived from a "sa²" or directly from sa. Dix (n. 5), p. xlix, suggests that Eth. was translated from an "ar¹" in the 13th or 14th cent. The earliest ms. of Eth. (Vat. R.) is from ca. 1440.

³³ In 1804 a Bohairic version (Bo) was made from the Sahidic, but it is virtually without value except where it supplies the lacunae common to all the Sahidic mss.

Because Sa., Ar., and Eth. all derive from one original Greek text, they constitute only one textual witness. Their three-fold evidence can only help us to decide what the original Greek or Sahidic may have read. For this purpose the Sa. has the advantage of being in the same language as the original translation, as well as retaining many of the Greek words. Dix judges, however, that in its present form it is the least reliable.³⁴ Ar. displays the greatest textual faithfulness, but like Sa. it is defective in several crucial passages. Eth., on the other hand, is the most complete text and includes the vitally significant ordination and anaphoral prayers. Despite the opaque expression sometimes resulting from three translations, it often leads back to the more ancient textual tradition.

The only primary versions of Ap. Tr. which we possess are Lat. and Eg. Ch. Or. Where Lat. is extant and the united witness of Eg. Ch. Or. substantiates its reading, we may be quite confident that this preserves the original text. When this is not the case, special importance must be given to the various later adaptations and expansions.

The Canons of Hippolytus. The adaptation of Ap. Tr. which represents itself as Cans. Hipp. was originally written in Greek, but survives only in Arabic manuscripts.³⁵ The earliest of these, dating from the 12th to the 14th centuries, show clearly that a Coptic version intervened between the Greek original and the Arabic text. Though Cans. Hipp. have sometimes revised their Hippolytean source drastically, they are textually significant when their reading is confirmed by one of the other revisions (esp. Test. Dom.), particularly where Lat. is defective and Eg. Ch. Or. is divided in its witness.

Suggestions as to the time and place of the origin of Cans. Hipp. have been extremely varied. Achelis, by bold excision of "interpolations", sought to ascribe it to Hippolytus himself in third-century Rome.³⁶ Both Schwartz and Connolly considered it a late, bungling revision not written "until the latter part of the fourth century (or perhaps even till the fifth or sixth)".³⁷

³⁴ Dix (n. 5), p. lxiii.

³⁵ Arabic edition by D. B. v. Haneberg, Canones S. Hippolyti arabice e codicibus romanis cum versione latina (1870). Germ. transl., on basis of superior arabic manuscripts, in W. Riedel, Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats (1900).

³⁶ Achelis (n. 10), pp. 212-268.

³⁷ Connolly (n. 12), p. 62 (cf. pp. 55-134); Schwartz (n. 12), p. 11.

Dix, with more assurance, declared that Cans. Hipp. "is in fact the latest of the group" and belongs to the late fifth or (more probably) the sixth century.³⁸ Against this almost unanimous consensus, B. Botte in 1956 presented impressive grounds for dating Cans. Hipp. 341-360 A.D.³⁹

The Apostolic Constitutions.⁴⁰ The eight books of Ap. Cons. consist of (1) Didasc. (Bks. I-VI), (2) Did., plus assorted liturgical materials (Bk. VII), and (3) Ap. Tr., plus a collection of "Apostolic Canons" (Bk. VIII). Book VIII begins with a brief treatise perī charismatōn, probably composed freely by the Constitutionist, followed by a transitional passage based on the Prologue found in Lat. and Eth. The remainder of the book (Ap. Cons. 8.4-46) could best be described as a selective distortion of Ap. Tr., adapted with what Dix calls the "perverse ingenuity" of the author.⁴¹ Ap. Cons. was composed ca. 380 A.D., probably in Syria (perhaps Antioch). C. H. Turner has shown that "the compiler was an Arian pur sang"⁴² who can probably be identified with the interpolator known as Pseudo-Ignatius. The church order of Ap. Cons. is consistently Syrian and much developed beyond that of the earlier documents.

Epitome.⁴³ Also known as Constitutiones per Hippolytum, Epit. is a series of extracts from Ap. Cons. VIII. Its special interest lies in the fact that in the prayer for episcopal ordination and in the ordination rite for the Reader it departed from its fourth-century model in order to give a virtually exact Greek equivalent of the parallel passages in Lat. and Eth. Furthermore, precisely where it begins this earlier material, it introduces a title attributing it to Hippolytus.⁴⁴ The fidelity of its source-

³⁸ Dix. (n. 5), pp. lxxvi-lxxxix.

³⁹ B. Botte, "L'origine des Canons d'Hippolyte", Mélanges en l'honneur de M. Michel Andrieu (1956), pp. 53-63. Quasten (n. 6), p. 240, reverses his former opinion and endorses the view of Botte.

⁴⁰ Greek text, with Lat. transl. in Funk (n. 6), pp. 1-595. Another critical Greek text (based on Vat. Gr. 1506 and 2089) is given by C. H. Turner, J.T.S. 31 (1930), pp. 128-141.

⁴¹ Dix (n. 5), p. lxxiii.

⁴² C. H. Turner, "Notes on Ap. Cons.", J.T.S. 16 (1915), p. 61.

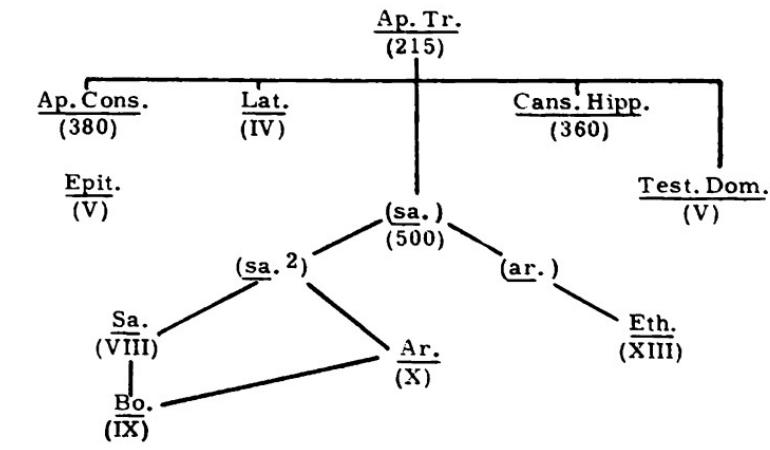
⁴³ Funk (n. 6), II (1906), pp. 72-96.

⁴⁴ Connolly (n. 12), pp. 37-54. In J.T.S. 35 (1934), pp. 398-400, Connolly argues that the section on slave-concubinage (Epit. 22.13) is also drawn directly from Ap. Tr. (16.24b).

text of Ap. Cons. suggests that Epit. was probably composed in the fifth century.

The Testament of Our Lord.⁴⁵ Whereas Ap. Cons., like Didasc. and Ap. Ch. Or. is pseudo-Apostolic, Test. Dom. takes the final step and ascribes its contents to our Lord, during the forty days preceding his ascension. It begins with an apocalypse (Test. Dom., 1.1-14) in which the risen Christ obligingly answers all the eschatological queries of his disciples. Then he proceeds to establish the authoritative rules for church government as his testament to future generations (Test. Dom., 1.15-2.27). This Church Order reproduces nearly half the wording of Ap. Tr., but editorial additions frequently change completely the original sense. The compiler, however, evidently had access to an excellent early codex of Ap. Tr., and where he followed it, he tended to do so verbatim. The Greek original was probably composed in Syria in the fifth century (perhaps the second half)⁴⁶ and was translated into the present Syriac version in the seventh century.

Summary chart. We may summarize the inter-relationship of the Hippolytean family of Church Orders by the following diagram.⁴⁷ Dates are conjectural; Roman numerals refer to centuries.



⁴⁵ Rahmani (n. 10) gives Syriac text and Lat. transl.; Engl. transl. in J. Cooper and J. A. Maclean, The Testament of Our Lord (1902).

⁴⁶ Dix (n. 5), pp. xlvi, lii, sought to leave open the possibility of a 4th century date for Test. Dom., but the Monophysite character of the prayers makes it impossible. See e.g. J. A. Jungmann, rev. of Dix, Zt. Kath. Th. 63 (1939), p. 238.

⁴⁷ Cf. Botte, Rech. Th. Anc. Med. (n. 32), p. 162.

Importance of the Hippolytean Church Order. Few scholars would dissent from the opinion of Connolly that Ap. Tr., "in the fulness and precision of its information as to the worship and regulated working of a Christian Church, is unique in the first three centuries".⁴⁸ Dix, with pardonable exaggeration, has declared it "the most illuminating single source of evidence extant on the inner life and religious piety of the early Christian Church".⁴⁹

The ultra-conservative temperament of Hippolytus and his avowed purpose of guarding the pure Apostolic tradition against the onslaughts of innovation tend to guarantee that his Church Order is a recapitulation of primitive Roman liturgy and praxis.⁵⁰ Careful analysis of the ritual and prayers of Ap. Tr. demonstrates that "his material comes to him rather than from him".⁵¹ This is confirmed not only by comparison with earlier Christian writers, but also by the strongly Jewish character of its contents. Thus Ap. Tr. "looks backward and illuminates the half-Judaic past already vanishing when it was written".⁵²

Perhaps no aspect of Ap. Tr. is as outstandingly important as its full description of ordination procedures. Neither the New Testament nor the early Fathers, for example, furnish even an illuminating hint as to the form and content of the ordination prayers, but Ap. Tr. gives them in full along with eucharistic and other prayers. Not until the Egyptian Bishop Serapion of Thmuis (339-362) are we again offered such information.

Cans. Hipp., however, is also worthy of special attention for several reasons. If the arguments of B. Botte are sound, Cans. Hipp. is our earliest revision of Ap. Tr., written more than a century before the document was first translated into Sahidic. Furthermore, many competent scholars have maintained that Cans. Hipp. has conserved certain original elements of Ap. Tr.

⁴⁸ Connolly (n. 12), p. 149.

⁴⁹ Dix (n. 5), p. ix; cf. A. Harnack, Th. Lit. Zt. 45 (1920), c. 225.

⁵⁰ Dix (n. 5), pp. xxxvii-xliv.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. xliv. H. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl (1926), pp. 174-185, emphasizes this in relation to eucharistic liturgical traditions.

⁵² Dix (n. 5), p. L.

which have disappeared from other witnesses.⁵³ Yet others have seen in these same features only a "mare's nest"⁵⁴ caused by "comparatively late and very unskillful redaction or Eg. Ch. Or.".⁵⁵ A careful comparison of church order and episcopacy in Ap. Tr. and Cans. Hipp. may help clarify the relationship between the two documents and perhaps have some significance for the much debated Sitz im Leben of Cans. Hipp.

Also, Cans. Hipp. displays a pattern of church order with surprising characteristics, whether or not they were original to Ap. Tr. Foremost among these is what Dix called "a curious tendency it shows at intervals to a sort of theoretical 'presbyterianism'".⁵⁶ Some of these features seem to extend certain lines of thought anticipated in Ap. Tr. Hence an investigation of these elements may be expected to bear significant fruit both for the understanding of episcopacy in Ap. Tr. and for the study of the progressive development of the episcopal office.

⁵³ A. v. Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, II Teil: Chronologie (2nd ed., 1904; republ. 1958), pp. 510-517; Bartlet, (n. 9); p. 119; K. Müller, "Hippolyts Apostolike Parádosis und die Canones Hippolyti", Z. N. W. 23 (1924), pp. 226-231, and "Noch einmal Hipp. s Ap. Par.", Z. N. W. 28 (1929), pp. 273f; Hamel (n. 20), p. 250.

⁵⁴ W. H. Frere, "Early Forms of Ordination", Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry, ed. B. H. Swete (1918), p. 284.

⁵⁵ Connolly (n. 12), p. 132.

⁵⁶ Dix (n. 5), p. lxxviii.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORDINATION OF THE BISHOP

"Episcopus ordinetur electus ab omni populo" (Ap. Tr. 2.1)¹—thus begins the first canon of Ap. Tr., "On the Ordination of the Bishop". How this popular election was to be conducted is not explained, and we must be careful not to read modern democratic principles and procedures into Hippolytus' terms.² The context of Ap. Tr. 2.2f³ indicates that both the electio and the nominatio refer to the act by which the whole assembly expressed its choice (placuerit omnibus; aresthéntos, Epit. 4.3).⁴ The aorist tense of onomasthéntos (Ap. Cons. 8.4.3, Epit. 4.3) implies that this was performed prior to the Sunday of the ordination service.

All the Egyptian versions introduce here the words "as we have already said" (Eth. 22, Ar. 21, Sa. 31). This interpolation refers back to Eth. 14 (Ar. 13, Sa. 16), the canon from Ap. Ch. Or. stipulating that a congregation with fewer than twelve faithful men shall send for "three chosen believers" from a nearby congregation to help with the election of its bishop. The Arabic, according to Horner's literal translation, speaks of an "assembly not large enough to make the vote (tadhkirah, voting-ticket) for the bishop".⁵ The Sahidic renders this "to take vote (psyphisma)

¹ The original Greek, according to Ap. Cons. 8.4.2 and Epit. 4.2, was "hypὸ pantὸς τοῦ laoῦ eklegménōn".

² Cf. O. Linton, Das Problem der Urkirche (1932), pp. 189-194.

³ The Verona text of Ap. Tr. 2.2 reads: "quique cum nominatus fuerit et placuerit omnibus, conveniet populum una cum praesbyterio et his, qui praesentes fuerint episcopi, die dominica", E. Haüer, Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta Ueronensis Latina (1900). G. Dix, The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of Saint Hippolytus of Rome (1937), p. 3, by an inaccurate translation of "conveniet", gives the misleading impression that the election and the ordination of the new bishop occurred in the same assembly. Cans. Hipp. 2 and the Egyptian versions confirm the strict sense of the tenses of Ap. Tr. 2.2.

⁴ Cyprian referred to this process as "populi suffragium" (Ep. 55.8, 59.5, 67.4f), though the form and meaning of the act may have changed somewhat by his time. For the unusual electoral sense of onomázō, cf. the third-century witness of P. Oxy. 1257.1 and 1204.4.

⁵ G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles (1904), p. 239.

for the bishop",⁶ reflecting the psephisasthai of the original Greek. These parallel passages provide a relevant commentary on the understanding of the klēsis both in the very early traditions incorporated into Ap. Ch. Or. and in the Eg. Ch. Or. at the time of its compilation.

It is striking that Ap. Tr. (2.1, 2a), while insisting so explicitly on the participation of all the laity, does not even mention the presence of the comprovincial bishops at the episcopal election. The election was fundamentally the act of the entire populus Dei.⁷ Many scholars, however, have assumed from the unique authority of the visiting bishops at the subsequent ordination service and from other evidence (I Clem. 44.3; Cypr. Ep. 55.8 et al.) that they must have exercised a preponderant de facto authority at the election also.⁸ Ap. Tr. restricts itself to requiring that the selection must express the will of all the faithful.

It would be a grave misunderstanding, however, to suppose that the election of the bishop in this form were due to such concepts as sovereign popular right or majority rule. Rather, the people of God are here viewed as the corporate instrument of his will through his living Spirit. Hence the "electus ab omni populo" is the counterpart of the "quem elegisti ad episcopatum" of the ordination prayer (Ap. Tr. 3.4; cf. 9.11). This is also evident in the words of Test. Dom. 1.20, "eligendus ab universo populo secundum placitum Spiritus sancti". The election was God's act accomplished charismatically through his Spirit-guided people.⁹

That the choice was the corporate will of the entire Body of Christ was reaffirmed by the solemn consentio with which the

⁶ Ibid., p. 301.

⁷ According to C. H. Turner, "Cheirotonia, Cheirothesia, Epithesis cheiron", J. T.S. 24 (1923), p. 499, "We do not generally realize how large a part fell to the choice of the laity in the appointment even of presbyters and deacons during the early ages of the Church". Cf. also W. Telfer, The Office of a Bishop (1962), pp. 192-196 and G. Dix, "The Ministry in the Early Church", The Apostolic Ministry, ed. K. E. Kirk (1946), pp. 198-200. Th. Schermann, Früchristliche Liturgien (1915), pp. 216-221, stresses the role of the laity in attesting the personal qualifications of the candidate (cf. Cypr., Ep. 38.1).

⁸ A. Harnack, The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries (1910), pp. 102-105, and K. Müller, "Älteste Bischofswahl und -weihe in Rom und Alexandrien", Z. N. W. 28 (1929), pp. 276-278.

⁹ Cf. Cypr. Ep. 43.1, 55.8; Pontius, Vit. Cypr. 5.

subsequent ordination service began.¹⁰ This is indicated by the "consentientibus omnibus" (syneudekein, Epit. 4.3, Sa. 31; cf. I Clem. 44.3) which introduces the description of the ordination rite. In Ap. Cons. 8.4.3 (Epit. 4.3) this takes the form of a direct interrogation of the presbytery and the laity, "ei autōs estin, hōn aitountai eis ἄρχοντα", and in Cans. Hipp. 2 the local clergy and congregation together declare "nos eligimus eum". This consentio must have also included the express accord of the visiting bishops, but the Egyptian versions undoubtedly err in referring it exclusively to them.

The next act in the ordination rite, according to Ap. Tr. 2.3f, consisted of a corporate imposition of hands by all the bishops who happened to be present, accompanied by the silent prayer of the presbyters, who stood quietly around them. Ap. Tr. 2.4 implies that all the laity were also to join in this silent intercession, "praying in their hearts for the descent of the Spirit".¹¹ The anomaly of an ordination rite with two impositions of hands, the first of which included no vocal prayer, caused the later editions to create a jungle of textual corruption at this point. Yet the variants themselves only confirm the clear sense of Lat., requiring the double imposition of hands.

It is difficult to assess the significance of this first imposition of hands. J. M. Hanssens believes that it marks the bishops' acceptance of the candidate elected by the people,¹² while J. Coppens describes it as "une priere préparatoire" by which the consecrators "se disposaient à l'acte principal".¹³ W. Frere, by contrast, observes that "the most solemn moment seems to have been that of the silent petition", and infers that "this gift (of the Holy Spirit) was regarded as antecedent to the open and formal petition for it".¹⁴ Such a sense seems to be implied in the phrase

¹⁰ Ap. Tr. 2: Consentientibus omnibus imponent super eum manus et praesbyterium adstet quiescens. 2.4: Omnes autem silentium habeant orantes in corde propter descensionem spiritus; 2.5: ex quibus unus de praesentibus episcopis ab omnibus rogatus imponens manum ei, qui ordinatur episcopus, oret ita dicens... Hauler (n. 3), p. 103.

¹¹ That the unqualified omnes in Ap. Tr. 2.4 refers to the entire congregation is strongly suggested by its meaning in each of the three preceding verses. Ar. 21 and Cans. Hipp. 2 make this explicit.

¹² J. M. Hanssens, La Liturgie d'Hippolyte (1959), p. 114.

¹³ J. Coppens, L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes (1925), p. 145.

¹⁴ W. H. Frere, "Early Forms of Ordination", Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry, ed. H. B. Swete (1918), p. 318.

"orantes... propter descensionem spiritus". Dix suggests that propter here represents the Greek hypér and means "on account of", indicating that this is the actual consecration.¹⁵

The implications of this act may perhaps be summarized under two points. (1) It is God alone who freely gives the gift of his Spirit in response to the intercession of his people. Bishops, local clergy, and laity all stand together in reverent silence before the mystery of Christ's lordship over his Church, imploring from him that gift which He alone can impart. (2) Ordination is the corporate act of the Body of Christ in its living unity. The assembled bishops together lay their hands upon the candidate, in sign of their corporate solidarity. Bishops, presbyters, and laity together beseech the divine gift of the Spirit, each fulfilling his divinely-assigned leitourgia (cf. I Clem. 40, 41). It could be appropriately said, in the terms of later sacramental theology, that in this particular consecratory act the silent prayer of the entire laós represents the "form" which corresponds to the laying on of hands as the "matter", or visible sign.

Then follows a second imposition of hands; one of the bishops, selected not according to his hierarchical rank but by the choice of his colleagues, lays his hand (sing.) upon the ordinand and pronounces the ordination prayer. The phrase "unus de praesentibus episcopis ab omnibus rogatus" gives strong emphasis to the fact that the appointed ordinator acts in a representative capacity on behalf of the corporate episcopate.¹⁶ Thus it is once more revealed that the ordination is a corporate act within the structured solidarity of the Body of Christ.

The unusual combination of these two solemn impositiones manus gives the impression of an awkward harmonizing of two divergent traditions. G. Williams has suggested that "the two separated acts of laying on of hands at episcopal consecration (probably our earliest evidence of consecratory imposition) may betray a double origin of cheirotonia, namely that derived from the Jewish presbyters and that of the Apostles".¹⁷ J. Colson

¹⁵ Dix (n. 3), p. 3. Cf. the Egyptian versions.

¹⁶ On ordination as the collective act of the episcopate see B. Botte, "L'ordre d'après les prières d'ordination", Études sur le sacrement de l'ordre, ed. J. Guyot (1957), p. 31, and Botte, *ibid.*, Chapter IV, "Caractère collégial du presbytérat et de l'épiscopat".

¹⁷ G. Williams, "The Ministry of the Ante-Nicene Church", in The Ministry in Historical Perspective, ed. H. R. Niebuhr and D. D. Williams (1956), p. 38.

also finds the origin of the corporate imposition of hands for both episcopal and presbyteral ordination (Ap. Tr. 8.1) in the self-recruitment and ordination en corps of the Jewish presbyterate.¹⁸ This may be why the crucial word "episcopi" is missing in Lat. Perhaps the root element was "and they shall lay hands upon him with the consent of all", and the requirement that the presbyters stand by in silent prayer was an effort to harmonize this presbyteral pattern of ordination with the then predominant episcopal traditions.¹⁹

After the ordination prayer two more actions complete the ordination rite. First, the newly consecrated bishop is given the kiss of peace by all. Then the deacons bring the eucharistic elements and the new bishop performs the Communion. It is interesting that Ap. Tr. makes no mention of an act of enthronement as part of the ordination rite, especially in view of the fact that an enthroned statue of Hippolytus has been found.²⁰ In so far as Ap. Tr. reflects an "usurpatio juris", it consists in the bishops' giving Holy Communion and blessing oil, cheese, and olives (Ap. Tr. 5, 6).

The Ordination Prayer. Since Ap. Tr. 3 is the most crucial passage on the theology of episcopal ordination in all of the literature of Christian antiquity, and since it will be necessary throughout our study to make continual reference to it, we shall seek at this point to lay a careful exegetical basis for the understanding of its essential content.²¹ The prayer may be outlined as follows:

¹⁸ J. Colson, Les Fonctions ecclésiales aux deux premiers siècles (1956), pp. 337f.

¹⁹ See the significant article by K. Müller (n. 8), p. 294f. Cf. his Kirchengeschichte I/1, (3rd ed., with H. v. Campenhhausen, (1941), p. 125: "Erst um 200, nachdem die Bischofsweihe an die benachbarten Bischöfe übergegangen war, wird ausdrücklich angeordnet, dass die Presbyter schweigend danebenstehen sollen".

²⁰ The cathedra is mentioned in Hipp., Ref. 9.11.1 and Cans. Hipp. 4, and enthronement is part of the ordination rite in Ap. Cons. The ordination rite in Test. Dom. ends with the three-fold "Dignus" of the people, followed by three days of celebration after which all give the bishop the kiss of peace.

²¹ The text is copied from Dix (n. 3), pp. 4-6. Words within brackets are probably not original. The prayer is found in Lat., Epit., and Eth., and clear traces of it appear in Test. Dom., Ap. Cons., and Cans. Hipp. R. H. Connolly, The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents (1916), pp. 11-53, has given a quite conclusive demonstration of its genuineness.

I. Preface

A. Salutation

3.1: "O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all comfort", "Who dwellest on high yet hast respect unto the lowly", "Who knowest all things before they come to pass";

B. Divine Order

3.2: Who didst give ordinances unto Thy Church "by the Word of Thy grace"; Who "didst foreordain from the beginning" the race of the righteous from Abraham, instituting princes and priests and leaving not Thy sanctuary without ministers; Who from the foundation of the world hast been pleased to be glorified in them whom Thou hast chosen;

II. Petitions

A. Power of Princely Spirit

3.3: And now pour forth that Power which is from Thee, of "the princely Spirit" which Thou didst deliver to Thy Beloved Child Jesus Christ, which He bestowed on Thy holy Apostles who established the Church which hallows Thee in every place to the endless glory and praise of Thy Name.

B. Pastoral Ministry

3.4a: Father, "who knowest the hearts (of all)", grant upon this Thy servant whom Thou hast chosen for the episcopate to feed Thy holy flock...

C. High-Priesthood

3.4b: and serve as Thine high priest,

3.4c: that he may minister blamelessly by night and day,

3.4d: that he may unceasingly (behold and) propitiate Thy countenance,

3.4e: and offer to Thee the gifts of Thy holy Church,

D. Remission of Sins

3.5a: And that by the high priestly Spirit he may have authority "to forgive sins" according to Thy commandment,

E. Ordination

3.5b: "to assign lots" according to Thy bidding,

F. Exorcism

3.5c: to "loose every bond" according to the authority Thou gavest to the Apostles,

G. Divine Favor

3.5d: and that he may please Thee in meekness and a pure heart, offering to Thee "a sweet-smelling savour".

III. Doxology

3.6: through Thy Child Jesus Christ our Lord, through Whom to Thee be glory, might and praise, to the Father and to the Son with (the) Holy Spirit now (and ever) and world without end. Amen.

The Preface reveals the thought-context within which episcopal ordination, and clerical office in general, were understood. Church order is divinely ordained "from the foundation of the world". God, by the Word of His Grace, has established fixed rules of government (cf. Hipp., Ref. 9.11.1, 9.12.26) and has instituted authorities and ministers to glorify his name. Furthermore, a continuity is seen between the Old Covenant and the New in the unity of the one divine plan for the ordered life of God's people. In all of this Hippolytus follows faithfully the thought of his Roman predecessor, Clement (I Clem. 40-44, 58.2). He was also undoubtedly influenced by his master, Irenaeus, who in one passage compared the New Testament "ordo presbyterii" with the "ducatus" of Moses and the "regnum" of Samuel, as well as the Apostolic ministry of Saint Paul.²² Neither Irenaeus nor Hippolytus, however, went so far as to affirm the identity of the Old Testament and the New Testament ministries, nor to elaborate detailed parallels between the specific order of the two economies.²³

The Greek of the first petition, as preserved by Epit. 5.3, reads: "καὶ νῦν επίστη τὸν πάρα σοῦ δύναμιν 'του ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεύματος' κ.τ.λ." The verb, "pour out", echoes the "orantes propter descensionem spiritus" of Ap.Tr. 2.4 and Biblical passages which speak of the pouring out of the Spirit, especially Joel 2.28. It is peculiar only in having the prefix epi rather than ek; this heightens the vertical quality of the action, which

²² Adv. haer. 4.26.4. It should be observed, however, that Irenaeus drew these comparisons not to assert the hierarchical prerogatives of the presbyters but to insist upon their solemn accountability to God.

²³ Hippolytus also emphasizes this continuity in Comm. Dan. 1.17, 4.30, Fragn. in Sam. 4; see J. Lécuyer, "Episcopat et presbytérat dans les écrits d'Hippolyte de Rome", Recherches de Science Religieuse 41 (1953), pp. 31-34; A. Ehrhardt, The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries (1953), p. 120f.

even in ekchéō is emphatic.²⁴

The intimate association of dynamis and pneūma, especially in the phrase "hē dýnamis tōū pneúmatos", is characteristic of both the new Testament and the early Patristic literature.²⁵ The terminology of Ap. Tr. is unusual, however, in its insertion of parà soū (Lat., quae a te est). The preposition pará was used in the New Testament for the mission of the Son, sent from the Father (Jn. 17.8; cf. 7.29, 16.27), and for the procession and mission of the Spirit (Jn. 15.26 bis). A close parallel to Hippolytus' phrase is found in Hermas, Mand. 9.11, which centers about the same combination of pneūma, parà tōū kuríou, and dynamis. Herman says that faith, which is engendered by the "angel of righteousness" (Mand. 6.2.1), is "from above, from the Lord (parà tōū kuríou), and has great dynamis; but double-mindedness is an earthly spirit, from (apό) the devil, devoid of dynamis". In Mand. 11.17 he writes, "But believe in the Spirit which comes from (apό) God and has power" (cf. 11.5, 8, 20f; Barn. 1.3).

In the middle of the second century another Roman writer, Justin Martyr, argued that "tò pneūma kai tēn dýnamin tēn parà tōū theoū" which came upon the Virgin Mary (Lk. 1.32-35) was the Logos, the first-born of God (Apol. 33.4-6). Likewise, the faithful have been delivered from the corruptions of the flesh "dià tēs parà tōū hēmetérou Iēsōū kata tò thélema tōū patrōs autoū cháritos", in fulfillment of Zech. 2:10, so that "the Angel of the Lord, the dynamis tōū theoū", now shields them from the

²⁴ Cf. W. Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, transl. W. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich (1957), p. 246. On the outpouring of the Spirit see I Clem. 46.6; Ep. Barn. 1.2f; Justin, Dial. 49.3, 87f; Iren., Adv. haer. 3.1.1, 3.12.1, 5.8.1f; Clem. Alex., Paed. 1.6, compares the descensio spiritus of Mat. 3.16 with the illumination of all believers at baptism, "by which we contemplate the Divine, the Holy Spirit flowing down to us from above".

²⁵ W. Grundman, art. "dýnamis", G. Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament II (1935), pp. 312f; cf. Vol. VI (1959), art. "pneūma", esp pp. 363ff, 379ff, 394ff. The most extensive discussion of the dynamis tōū pneúmatos theoū by an Apostolic Father is found in Hermas, Mand. 11. In Comm. Dan. 1.15f Hipp. interprets the oil of Susanna as the power of the Holy Spirit with which the baptized are anointed (cf. Hipp., Bless. Jac. 7).

evil one (Dial. 116.1; cf. Dial. 87.4-6).²⁶

The Roman origin of these passages and their marked similarity to the language of Hippolytus, especially in their characteristic use of para sou and their similar correlation of pneuma, dynamis, charis, and ekchēō, make them a commentary of great authority upon the terminology of the Roman community which produced the ordination prayer of Ap. Tr. In the light of their evidence, the para sou of 3.3 can be understood as emphasizing the sovereign and mysterious "verticality" of the giving of the Princely Spirit to the ordinand in answer to the corporate prayer of the faithful, by that same divine grace which at Christmas sent the Son from the Father's presence and at Pentecost sent the Spirit to indwell the Church as the Body of Christ.

A second and more striking peculiarity of this petition is the introduction of the adjective hēgemonikō to describe the Spirit whose power is besought. The phrase "hē dynamis tōū hēgemonikōū pneūmatoū" is entirely without parallel in surviving Patristic literature, yet all the versions of Ap. Tr. confirm its genuineness. It is an evident allusion to Ps. 51.12 (LXX 50.12), where the repentant David prayed, "uphold me with a willing spirit".²⁷ The Septuagint translators, under the influence of Greek philosophical terminology, translated this "pneūmati hēgemonikō stērisón me" (Vulgate, "et spiritu principali confirma me").

26 E. R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr (1923), pp. 181, 185f, concludes that Justin confused the functions but not the persons of the Logos and the Spirit (see esp. Apol. I 6.6f). Cf. also Iren., Adv. haer. 4.20.1, 3, 5.1.3, 5.6.1, 5.12.2; Dem. 5. Hippolytus, in a passage that seems to ascribe the Virgin Birth to the pre-incarnate Word, says that the eternal Son "lōgos ēn, pneūma ēn, dynamis ēn" (Hipp., C. Noet. 4). He holds that the dynamis of the Trinity is one and indivisible (C. Noet. 7, 8, 11), but "in the Son the Father showed men the power (dynamis) proceeding from Him" (ibid. 12; cf. 11,16). Though he refers to the eternal divine nature of the Word as "to pneūma" (ibid. 16), in other passages he insists on a certain distinction between the Son and the Spirit (ibid. 8, 9, 10, 12, 14).

27 A. Weiser, Die Psalmen (1950), p. 264, explains the Ruach nedibah as "der Geist der Willigkeit"; so also R. Kittel, Die Psalmen (1922), p. 193. In other passages the adjective is translated "generous" or "noble, princely". On the LXX transl. see J. Schneider, "Pneūma Hēgemonikón: ein Beitrag zur Pneūma Lehre des LXX", Z. N. W. 34 (1935), pp. 62-69. The Syriac reads "let thy glorious spirit sustain me".

Except for one passage in which Clement of Rome cites Ps. 51.1-17 (I Clem. 18.2-17), without any indication of what he understood by the pneûma hêgemonikón, no reference to Ps. 51.12 survives in any of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers or of the Apologists.²⁸ Irenaeus, in a passage arguing that it was neither the Christ nor the "Supernal Saviour" but the Holy Spirit of God who descended upon Jesus at his baptism, links Ps. 51.12 with Isa. 11.2, 61.1, Joel 2.28, Math. 10.20, 28.19, and Jn. 16.7 and refers the pneûma hêgemonikón specifically to the Spirit given at Pentecost.²⁹ A passing reference in the Canon of Muratorii also seems to understand the pneûma hêgemonikón in this sense, along with all other Patristic allusions to Ps. 51.12 prior to the fourth or fifth century.³⁰

²⁸ Ode Sol. 36.8 is probably an allusion to the LXX of Ps. 51.12: "I was established in the Spirit of Providence", J. R. Harris and A. Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon II (1920), p. 384. R. H. Connolly, J.T.S. 22 (1921), p. 81, prefers to translate this as "spirit of government" or "of leadership" (cf. Ode Sol. 23.12).

²⁹ Iren., Adv. haer. 3.17.2, "This Spirit (sc. which descended upon Jesus) David asked for the human race, saying, 'and establish me with (the) princely Spirit'; who also, as Luke says, descended at Pentecost upon the disciples" (cf. 3.9.3, 3.18.3). R. H. Connolly has given strong evidence for the direct influence of Adv. haer. 3.17.2 on the liturgical prayers of Ap. Tr. In addition to the close parallels in the episcopal ordination prayer, Connolly has shown that the much-debated "Epiclesis" of the eucharistic prayer (Ap. Tr. 4.12, esp. "in unum congregans") is probably an adaptation of Adv. haer. 3.17.2 (cf. "ad unitatem redigente" and "nos multi unum fieri in Christo Iesu"). Connolly, "The Eucharistic Prayer of Hippolytus", J.T.S. 39 (1938), pp. 364-366.

³⁰ Frag. Mur. lin. 19f; Tert., De orat. 12; Clem. Alex., Strom. 1; Orig., De Prin. 1.3.2, Com. Rom. 7.1, Com. Mat. 13.2, In Joh. 2.31; Ap. Cons. 2.41.4, 8.9.5. Origen, in his commentary on Psalms, seems to have concluded from the three-fold reference to pneûma in Ps. 50.10-12 that the pneûma hêgemonikón was the Person of the Father; see R. Cadiou, Commentaires inédits des Psaumes, Études sur les textes d'Origène contenus dans le ms. Vindobonensis 8 (1936), p. 84. In this he was followed by Ambrose and other Latin commentators, as proved by H. C. Puech, "Origène et l'exégèse trinitaire du Ps. 50.12-14", Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne, (Mélanges Goguel), ed. O. Cullmann and Ph. Menoud, (1950), pp. 180-194.

Later another interpretation developed, based upon the direct appropriation of the Stoic term τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, reason as "the ruling faculty" in contrast to τὸ ὑποκείμενον, the inferior element in man. The first Patristic writer to use the term in this sense was Clement of Alexandria.³¹ As part of a "gnostic exposition of the decalogue" he explains the hidden significance of the number ten. "There is a ten in man himself", he argues: the five senses, the powers of speech and reproduction, "the spiritual principle communicated at his creation; and the ninth, the ruling faculty (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) of the soul; and tenth, there is the distinctive characteristic of the Holy Spirit, which comes to him through faith". It is by this faculty that we reason, make moral choices, and master the carnal desires. This Stoic line of thought was later developed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret of Cyprus in their respective commentaries on Psalm 50.

On the basis of this Stoic sense of ἡγεμονικόν, J. Lécuyer has sought to interpret the pneuma hegemonikon of Ap. Tr. 3.3 as "une grâce spirituelle créée... une force, une grâce spirituelle qui convient aux chefs".³² He thus understands it as an impersonal force, a human quality (gratia creata) communicated to the bishop, rather than as the divine Spirit (gratia increata). Furthermore, he affirms, the "princely spirit" of Ap. Tr. 3.3 must be related to the Old Testament princes mentioned in the preceding verse. Hence the final clause of Ap. Tr. 3.3, when compared with Iren., Adv. haer. 3.17.1f, proves that "la grâce spirituelle conférée aux évêques est donc cette 'grâce des chefs' que Jésus a reçue au Jourdain, et que les Apôtres ont reçue à leur tour à la Pentecôte".³³

Lécuyer's study raises significant questions and provides instructive comment on many aspects of the thought of Hippolytus, but a careful consideration of all the evidence on this point confirms the conclusion of B. Botte that "la démonstration est loin

31 Clem. Alex., Strom. 6.16; Clement also discusses reason and spirit in Paed. 1.3, 1.6, Strom. 5.13, 6.17. For the relevant Stoic texts see Schneider (n. 27), pp. 64-68.

32 Lécuyer (n. 23), pp. 35f. He takes pneumatos as a genitive of apposition.

33 Ibid., pp. 37f. Cf. Lécuyer, "Mystère de la Pentecôte et Apostolicité de la mission de l'église", Etudes (n. 16), pp. 168-170; and "La grâce de la consécration épiscopale", Rev. Sc. Phil. Th. 36 (1952), pp. 389-417.

d'être convaincant".³⁴ Irenaeus, who stamped so deeply the thought of Hippolytus, clearly understood the pneuma hēgemonikón as the Spirit of God. We have seen that the key words of the Hippolytean petition (epichéō, dynamis tou pneūmatos, para sōū) represent a consistent Biblical and Patristic (especially Roman) tradition which understood the descensio spiritus as the outpouring of the divine Spirit. According to Ap. Tr. 2.4 all the faithful are to "pray silently for the descent of the Spirit", and the same petition is prominent in the presbyteral and diaconal ordination prayers later given by Hippolytus. There is good reason to concur with Botte that "il serait étrange alors que l'Esprit ne soit pas nommé dans la prière" for the consecration of the bishop.³⁵

Although the evidence from Clement of Alexandria is contemporary with Hippolytus, nothing indicates that he had any influence upon the phrasing of Ap. Tr. 3.3.³⁶ Furthermore, in Strom. 6.16 Clement is employing entirely Stoic terminology and makes no reference whatever to Ps. 51.12. In Stoic fashion he speaks of tō hēgemonikón rather than the pneuma hēgemonikón of LXX. The concepts of descensio, epīchee, para sōū, and dynamis tou pneūmatos, so decisive for the meaning of Ap. Tr. 3.3 and parallel Patristic passages, are significantly absent from Strom. 6.16. Finally, in the very same passage Clement explicitly distinguishes between "the ruling faculty" and "the Holy Spirit" who comes to the believer through faith. It would be highly conjectural, therefore, to interpret either Ps. 51.12 or Ap. Tr. 3.3 by this bit of Stoic anthropology which Clement "despoiled from the Egyptians".

The final clause of Ap. Tr. 3.3, in close parallel to Adv. haer. 3.17.1f, affirms that Christ received this same pneuma

³⁴ Bull. Th. Anc. Med. 6 (1953), p. 588.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 588; see above n. 29.

³⁶ Such an influence would be even less likely if the term "pneuma hēgemonikón" were derived from the early Roman traditions incorporated by Hippolytus into Ap. Tr. Lécuyer argues, perhaps rightly, that the similar references to Ps. 51.12 in Adv. haer. 3.17.2 and Ap. Tr. 3.3 were both drawn from early Roman consecration prayers. Yet prior to Clement of Alex. no Patristic references to the Stoic tō hēgemonikón have been found. The refutation of the immanentism of Gnostic epistemology in Adv. haer. 2.13.3 and the generally suspicious attitude of Hippolytus toward Greek philosophy (Ref. 1.1ff) cast further doubt upon a Stoic background for the term in Ap. Tr. 3.3.

hēgemonikón from the Father and bestowed it upon the Apostles.³⁷ The reference to Jesus as páis may well point to the Isaianic Servant passages, which the early Fathers often applied to the descent of the Holy Spirit at the Lord's baptism.³⁸ Similarly, they related the bestowal of the Spirit upon the Apostles either to Pentecost³⁹ or to John 20.22⁴⁰, and in either case they understood it in terms of the Spirit of God himself rather than of such later concepts as an official clerical spirit (Amtsgeist) or a specialized Apostolic-episcopal charisma conceived as an objective-ontic donum.⁴¹

³⁷ For reconstructed Greek text, see C. H. Turner, "The Ordination Prayer for a Presbyter in the Church Order of Hippolytus", J.T.S., 16 (1915), p. 545.

³⁸ Justin, Dial. 87f; Iren., Adv.haer. 3.9.3; 3.12.7; 3.17.1-4; 3.18.3. From Hipp., Bless.Jac. (on Gen. 49.11), De Ant. 11 and Com.Dan. 4.57 (cf. 4.36), J. Lécuyer (n. 23, cf. n. 33) has concluded that in his baptism Jesus received "une grâce de chef" (pp. 37, 41). A strict exegesis of the passages, however, gives no basis for the conclusion that Hippolytus related the three-fold messianic office of Christ to His baptism in a sacramental manner parallel to episcopal ordination. Likewise, while Iren., Adv.haer. 3.11.8 and Clem. Alex., Strom. 5.6.37 affirm the kingly and priestly office of Christ, they neither mention the baptism nor suggest any parallels to ordination.

³⁹ Justin, Dial. 87f; Iren., Adv.haer. 3.1.1; 3.12.1; 3.17.2; Tert., DeOrat. 25; De ieiunio 10; Orig., De prin. 2.7.2; cf. Hipp., S.Sol. 6.

⁴⁰ Iren., Fragm. 52 (M. Pitra); Origen, De prin. 1.3.2; 1.3.7; C. Celsus 7.51; Com.Mat. 12.11; cf. Novatian, DeTrin. 29.

⁴¹ Extensive evidence to this same effect, from Fathers subsequent to Hipp., is given by J. Coppens (n. 13), pp. 159-161, and P. A. Elderenbosch, De Oplegging der Handen (1953), p. 63. Ap.Cons. 2.41.4 and 8.9.5 speak of the pneúma hēgemonikón as given to restored penitents; Tert., De orat. 12, Orig., Com.Mat. 13.2, and (prob.) Iren., Adv.haer. 3.17.2f and Clem., Strom. 1.1 also imply that the "princely Spirit" is given to all the faithful; cf. Tert., De cast. 4. When H. Elfers, Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts (1938), p. 198, speaks of "das bischöfliche Charisma" in Ap.Tr. as "der in der Ordination empfangene spezielle Geist des apostolischen Amtes" (cf. pp. 204, 208, 230-232) and interprets this as an "Amtspneuma, als Charisma, als objektiv-ontisches donum verstanden" ("Neue Untersuchungen über die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts", Abhdl.Th.u.Kirche, Adams

Then follows a petition (Ap. Tr. 3.4) concerning the pastoral and high-priestly ministry of the new bishop.⁴² It presents us with a series of highly significant verbs, understood as functions of the episkopé. Their history and meaning deserve our most careful scrutiny.

1. "To feed Thy holy flock".⁴³ The verb poimánein occurs in Jn. 21.16, where the close parallelism with the verb bóske in 21.15, 17 suggests special emphasis upon the pastoral function of feeding the Lord's flock.⁴⁴ Similarly, according to Rev. 7.17, the Lamb shall shepherd his people and "he will guide them to springs of living water". Acts 20.28 stresses the responsibility of the presbyter-bishops to take heed to themselves and to all the flock in which the Holy Spirit has made them guardians (episkópous) and to shepherd (poimánein) the Church, always alert against the menacing wolves of heresy. Finally, according to I Pet. 5.2, the elders must "tend the flock of God that is your charge". That the verb here refers to the direction of the congregation is evident from the qualifying exhortations, "not by constraint but willingly, ... not as domineering over those in your charge (tōn klērōn) but being examples to the flock".

Early patristic thought tended to conform to these basic biblical lines of pastoral terminology. Hermas, in Sim. 6.1.6 (cf. 6.2.4, 7; 9.1.8), emphasizes the shepherd's responsibility for feeding (éboske) the sheep, and the teaching function is also

Festschrift, 1952, p. 211), it must be doubted that such a view is consistent with the language of Ap. Tr. 3.3.

⁴² Greek text in Turner (n. 37), p. 545; Lat. in Hauler (n. 3), p. 105.

⁴³ For a balanced summary of the significance of the O. T. concept of "pastor", see M. Schmaus, Katholische Dogmatik III/I (1958), pp. 173-176. Cf. V. Hamp, "Das Hirtenmotiv im Alten Testament", Faulhaber Festschrift (1949), pp. 7-20; W. Jost, Poimén: Das Bild v. Hirten in der biblische Überlieferung (1939); Th. K. Kempf, Christus der Hirt (1942); R. Schnackenburg, "Episkopos u. Hirtenamt", Faulhaber Festschrift (1949), pp. 66-88.

⁴⁴Vs. P. Gaechter, Petrus u. seine Zeit (1958), "Das Dreifache 'Weide meine Lämmer'", pp. 11-30. On bóskein, cf. Hermas, Sim. 6.1.6; 6.2.4, 7; 9.1.8. O. Cullmann, Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr (1958), pp. 63f, relates Jn. 21.16 to Damasc. Doc. 13.9, where the duty of the 'shepherd of the flock' is "to proclaim the word, explain the Scripture, and exercise community discipline", including "leadership of the Primitive Church in Jerusalem and missionary preaching". Cf. Eph. 4:11.

reflected in the fact that the angelic shepherd (Vis. 5.3, 7) is the agent of revelation who discloses to Hermas the "Mandates" and "Similitudes" which he must write.⁴⁵ Abercius, in his famous epitaph, calls himself "a disciple of the chaste shepherd, who feedeth his flocks" and "taught me... faithful writings".⁴⁶ Clement of Alexandria develops this image with special vividness in the first book of "The Instructor": the paidagōgós is Jesus the Shepherd (1.7), who feeds his sheep in the rich pastures of his holy mountain, the Church (1.9). Hence "we who preside over the Churches are shepherds after the image of the good Shepherd" and must nourish the sheep with the divine Word which is "the milk of the flock" (1.6).⁴⁷

The responsibilities of pastoral guardianship and oversight are seen in I Clem. 59.4, where Christ the déspota is besought to seek the wandering and heal the sick, and in the similar responsibilities ascribed to the presbyters in Pol., Phil. 6.1. The "chaste shepherd" of the Abercius inscription "hath great eyes that look on all sides", while Didasc. 2.6.4-6 exhorts the bishop-pastor to be a faithful skopós who vigilantly guards his flock against every heresy from without and against all sin from within and compassionately seeks and restores the wanderers (cf. 2.20.8, 12).⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See M. Dibelius, "Der Offenbarungsträger in 'Hirten' des Hermas", Harnack-Ehrung (1921), pp. 105-118. J. Jeremias, T.W.N.T. (n. 25), p. 497, points to the parallel function of the shepherd in Corp. Herm., Poimandres. Barn. 10.11, in a different context, interprets the phágesthe of Lev. 11.3 as spiritual "ruminating upon the word of the Lord" and rejoicing in Him who feeds us.

⁴⁶ J. Quasten, Patrology I (1950), p. 172.

⁴⁷ Cf. Cypr., Ep. 8.2, 17.2, and Didasc. 2.1.2; 2.5.3-5; 2.26.3.

⁴⁸ Ign., Rom. 9.1, writes that in his absence the Church in Syria has God for its poimén, and Jesus Christ alone will oversee it (episkopései); cf. Didasc. 2.6.4-6. Nauck, "Probleme des früchristl. Amtsverständnisses", Z.N.W. 48 (1957), pp. 210-213 (see also Z.N.W. 46, 1955, p. 276), Schnackenburg (n. 43, p.68), and others have rightly emphasized this frequent association of terms with episkop- and poiman- as roots, but it should also be remembered that the flexibility of the terminology and the variety of its reference (God, Jesus, the bishop, or the presbyter) make it clear that the pastoral image was not originally understood in a technical-official sense nor associated exclusively with the mono-episcopal office which later developed.

The governmental aspect of the pastoral ministry, closely related to the above, receives indirect but clear emphasis in Clement of Rome (I Clem. 16.1, 44.3, 54.2, 57.2)⁴⁹ and Ignatius (Phld. 2.1, Rom. 9.1). Clement of Alexandria describes Christ as "the good Shepherd and Lawgiver of the one flock", fulfilling the type of Moses the wise shepherd-legislator (Strom. 1.26); the Shepherd-Instructor leads his sheep, with a rod when necessary (Paed. 1.7, 1.9). A generation later (251 A.D.) Cyprian interprets the poimainein of Jn. 21.15ff in a governmental sense related to the potestas clavium,⁵⁰ and Didasc. 2.1.1 speaks of the bishop as "the pastor in oversight of the presbytery" ("Pastor, qui constituitur in episcopatu presbyterii"). In general, it may be said that except for Clement of Rome and perhaps Ignatius, the early Fathers tended to give less prominence to the governmental than to the other aspects of the pastoral analogy.

The writings of Hippolytus, like those of Irenaeus, reveal a surprising paucity of pastoral terminology and furnish little explicit commentary upon his own understanding of Ap. Tr. 3.4a. The very similar clauses in the ordination prayer of the Mēbaqqēr in Damasc.Doc. 13.7f⁵¹ and in the later episcopal ordination

⁴⁹ See H. v. Campenhausen, Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht (1953), p. 96.

⁵⁰ De eccl. unit. 4. In Cypr., Ep. 8.1 the Roman clergy clearly understand the "high place of a shepherd" in terms of rank and status; the same viewpoint is evident in the "tōpon...tōn poimenikōn" of Ap.Ch.Or. 22.2 (cf. 18.2).

⁵¹ Nauck (n. 48), p. 206f, argues that the aramaic KRW'H 'DRW in Damasc.Doc. 13.7 ("As a shepherd with his flock shall he loose all their bonds", G. Dix, n. 7, p. 252) corresponds to the "poimānein tēn poimnēn sou" of Ap. Tr. 3.4. He further relates these two phrases to the ordination prayer in Ps. Clem., Hom. 3.72.1-4, especially since Ps. Clem. may well have been influenced by the Qumran sect; see O. Cullmann, "Die neuentdeckten Qumrantexte und das Judenchristentum der Pseudoklementinen", Ntl. Studien für R. Bultmann (1954), pp. 35-51, and H. J. Schoeps, Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis (1956), pp. 77-86. The parallels, however, are not complete or exact, and similar parallels with the O.T., N.T., I Clem., Justin, and Irenaeus could be appealed to with equal justice. There is as yet no proof of the influence of the sectarian Mēbaqqēr upon the origin of the Christian episcopacy. The most that can be affirmed at present is that it represents a similar phenomenon which experienced a parallel development toward monarchical authority, as has been shown by B. Reicke, "Die Verfassung der Urgemeinde

prayer of Sarapion of Thmuis⁵² suggest that the phrase represented a general petition for the faithful fulfillment of the episcopal-pastoral office. How these pastoral ministries were understood may be generally inferred, with relative assurance, from the broad lines of New Testament and patristic evidence prior to and contemporary with Hippolytus.

2. "to serve as Thine high priest".⁵³ The application to the bishop of such high-priestly terminology as archiereatein,⁵⁴ archiereús,⁵⁵ and archiereía⁵⁶ is an exceedingly significant characteristic of the thought of Hippolytus. From this passage and from Ap. Tr. 9.11 (the deacon is called "to bring up in holiness to Thy holiness that which is offered to Thee by Thine ordained high priest"), it is clear that Hippolytus understood this

in Licht jüd. Dokumente", Theol. Zt. 10 (1954), p. 111; cf. Engl. transl. in K. Stendahl, The Scrolls and the N. T. (1957)

⁵² Sacr. Serap. 28 (14): 2.

53 This clause of the prayer is omitted by Cans. Hipp., which presents a radically different prayer intended to serve for the ordination of bishops and presbyters alike. This prayer in Cans. Hipp., however, shows clear evidence of having been derived by omission and adaptation from the prayer now found in Lat. and Eth. Furthermore, in another passage Cans. Hipp. itself refers to the bishop as the high priest (Cans. Hipp. 24, Ap. Tr. 30).

54 On priesthood in the N. T. and the early Fathers see T. W. Manson, Ministry and Priesthood: Christ's and Ours (1958); T. F. Torrance, Royal Priesthood (1955); J. Blinzler, "TERATEUMA", Episcopus (n. 56), pp. 49-65; J. Lécuyer, Le Sacerdoce dans le mystère du Christ (1958, quoted from Span., El Sacerdocio en el misterio de Cristo, 1959); A. Harnack (n. 8), pp. 117-121, "Rise of a Specific Ecclesiastical Priesthood", and Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte (1909), pp. 459-462; C. W. Dugmore, "Sacrament and Sacrifice in the Early Fathers", J. Eccl. Hist. 2 (1951), pp. 24-37; H. B. Swete, "Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries", J. T. S. 33 (1902), pp. 161-178; Long-Hasselmanns, "Un Essai de théologie sur le sacerdoce catholique", critical remarks by Y. Congar, Rev. Sc. Rel. 25 (1951), pp. 187-199, 270-304.

⁵⁵ Ap. Tr. 9.11, 30.1; see further under "Titles of the Bishop: High Priest" and "Functions of the Bishop: Eucharist".

⁵⁶ Hipp., Ref. I praef. 6, the bishops, as successors of the Apostles, have received a share in their archiereía; cf. Ben. Jac. 31.24, Ehrhardt (n. 29), p. 126. (See also below on pneúma archieratikón).

high-priestly ministry to include the act of offering the eucharist. Ap.Tr. 3.5a also specifies the remission of sins, the giving of lots, and the loosing of bonds as high-priestly functions; and Ap.Tr. 30.1 implies that the bishop's pastoral visits to the sick were in some sense a high-priestly ministry.⁵⁷

3. "ministering blamelessly by night and day". Although the verb leitourgeō and its cognates were capable of a general non-liturgical sense, they had very early acquired predominantly cultual-liturgical overtones.⁵⁸ Its use in Ap.Tr. 3.4c, as an adverbial participle defining the archiereutein of 3.4b and in correlation with the emphatic language of 3.4d and 3.4e, clearly refers to the bishop's official-clerical ministry in the church's liturgical public worship. This is especially evident in Ap.Tr. 11.4f, which argues that the widow does not receive ordination "because she does not offer the oblation (prosphora) nor has she a liturgical ministry (leitourgia). But ordination is for the clergy on account of their liturgical ministry (leitourgia)", in contrast to the prayer of the widows, which is a function of all Christians.

4. "that he may unceasingly propitiate thy countenance".⁵⁹ This is the most striking and significant clause of this series, almost completely without precedent in earlier patristic litera-

⁵⁷ Ap.Tr. 30.1: "the sick man is much comforted that the high priest remembered him". Cans.Hipp. 24 interprets this in terms of sacramental healing power; cf. Iren., Adv.haer. 4.8.2, where Jesus "performed the office of the high priest" in healing on the sabbath. But Ap.Tr. 30.1 speaks of the comforting rather than the healing effects of the visit of the bishop.

⁵⁸ See the extensive analysis by A. Romeo, "Leitourgia", Miscellanea Liturgica II (Mohlberg Festschrift, 1949), pp. 467-519, and O. Casel, "Leitourgia - munus", Oriens Christianus III, 7 (1932), pp. 289-302; cf. esp. I Clem. 32.2, 40.2, 5, 41.1f, 43.4, 44.2-6; Did. 15.1, and Euseb., H.E. 3.13, 3.34.

⁵⁹ The agreement of Lat., Epit., and Ap.Cons. supports (ex)hilāskesthai against the variant of Eth. and Test.Dom., "behold thy face". (The drastically revised prayer of Cans.Hipp. omits the phrase.) The adverb "unceasingly" suggests that the propitiatory ministry was not restricted to the Eucharist alone. Baptism, intercessory prayer (cf. Iren., Adv.haer. 4.18.6, but not specifically of bishops), and absolution were probably also included; see Harnack D.G. (n. 54), pp. 470, 476.

ture.⁶⁰ Justin Martyr frequently emphasizes the propitiatory nature of the death of Christ,⁶¹ appropriated in baptism by those who repent of their sin and believe upon him.⁶² In contrast, sacrifices were instituted because of the sin of the people, and are in no sense acts of righteousness which might contribute to salvation.⁶³ The Christians, indeed, are the true high-priestly race of God (Dial. 116.3) and their sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, offered in the Eucharist, are well-pleasing to him (117.1-3); but only because "Christ the High Priest, namely the Crucified One" has stripped them of their former sins and robed them in the priestly garments of his righteousness (Dial. 116.1-3).⁶⁴

⁶⁰ On propitiation, see Harnack, D.G. (n. 54), pp. 233-235 (Ap. Fath., Just.), 468f (Iren.), 463f (Tert.), 468-476 (Cypr.); P. Batiffol, Etudes d'histoire et de théologie positive. Série II: l'Eucharistie, la présence réelle et la transubstantiation (1905), p. 144 (Justin), 163 (Iren.), 230 (Cypr.). I Clem. 7.7 states that the repentance and prayer of the Ninevites propitiated (exilásantos) God; the context shows that this reconciliation was God's free gift (7.5, 7; cf. 2.3, 48.1, 61.2). In Herm., Vis. 1.2.1, the guilt-stricken Hermas asks, "How shall I propitiate (exilásomai) God for my consummated sins? With what words shall I beseech the Lord to be propitious (hilatesētai) to me?" The ancient lady answers that Hermas should repent, fast, and correct his children (Vis. 1.3.2, 2.2.4-8, Sim. 5.3.8f), for God is merciful to those who confess their sins (Sim. 9.23.4; cf. II Clem. 16.4). On repentance in Hermas see K. Rahner, "Die Busslehre im Hirten des Hermas", Z. Kath. Th. 77 (1955), pp. 385-431; on the soteriology of the Apostolic Fathers see T. F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (1948). Minucius Felix, Oct. 32.1-3, argues that the Christians, rather than despise God's good gifts by sacrificing them to him in foolish slaughter, offer to God the true sacrifice of a holy disposition and a just life and propitiate God by abstaining from fraudulence. Cf. Athenagoras, Plea 13.2.

⁶¹ E.g. Dial. 13f, 54.1, 95.1-3, 91.1-4, 116.1-3.

⁶² Apol. I 61.2, 10, Dial. 13f, 44-46, 95.3, 141.2f.

⁶³ Dial. 21f, 44-46; Apol. I 13.1f

⁶⁴ Elfers (n. 41), p. 237, and Lécuyer (n. 54, Span.), pp.

262ff, 288ff, rightly insist that the silence of Justin about a clerical priestly order does not prove that none existed. But Justin, in contrast to Ap. Tr., does not attribute the acceptability of the Christian sacrifices to any propitiatory functions exercised by ho proestōs (Apol. I 65, 67).

Irenaeus was equally explicit in his rejection of material sacrifices⁶⁵ and of the folly of those who imagined that God was to be propitiated by such ceremonies (Adv. haer. 4.17.1f, "putantes propitiari Deum... putabant peccantes propitiari Deum"). Jesus Christ, fulfilling the office of the high priest, propitiated God by his life and death and freed exiled man from condemnation (4.8.2, "propitians pro hominibus Deum").⁶⁶

The generation after Irenaeus, however, seems to have introduced what the earlier Fathers had so explicitly rejected, viz. the idea of the propitiatory efficacy of the eucharist through the intervention of a priestly order invested with unique mediatorial powers.⁶⁷ A clear step in this direction is evident in Hippolytus.⁶⁸ Several decades later Origen explicitly ascribes

⁶⁵ Adv. haer. 4.16-19; cf. N. Bonwetsch, Die Theologie des Irenäus (1925), pp. 126, 129f; J. V. Bartlet, Church-Life and Church-Order (1943), pp. 134f; Lécuyer (n. 54, Span.), pp. 263f, 288f. The similarity of Biblical quotation in the anti-sacrificial passages in the Apostolic Fathers, Apologists, and Irenaeus may be due to the influence of primitive testimonia; cf. A. Benoit, Saint Irénée: Introduction à l'Etude de sa théologie (1960), p. 26, 97f, and Swete (n. 54), p. 164. Irenaeus, in a vein typical of these passages, argues that sacrifices cannot sanctify a man; rather, the pure conscience of the offerer sanctifies the sacrifice, and God accepts it as from a friend (4.18.1, 3). In 4.17.5 Iren. describes the eucharist as "*novi testamenti oblatio*" and the "*purum sacrificium*" of Mal. 1.11. But he nowhere ascribes propitiatory efficacy or piacular character to this "*sacrificium*", and 4.17.1, 2, 5, 4.18.1, imply that he understood this in terms of the "*thysia ainēseōs*" (Vg., "hostia laudis") of Ps. 50.14, 23 (cf. Heb. 13.15, and Clem. Alex., Strom. 7.6) and the "*pneūma suntetrimménon*" of Ps. 51.17.

⁶⁶ Adv. haer. 5.17.1, 4.5.4, 3.16.9; cf. 3.18.6, 5.14.3, 5.16.3. On the soteriology of Irenaeus see F. R. K. Hitchcock, Irenaeus of Lugdunum (1914), pp. 158-182 and Harnack, D.G. (n. 54), pp. 607-613.

⁶⁷ Harnack gives evidence (drawn esp. from Iren., Adv. haer. 1.13, 1.21) that similar concepts had appeared earlier among the Marcionites but were decisively repudiated by Irenaeus: Constitution (n. 8), pp. 152ff, and L.d.D. (n. 54), pp. 459-462.

⁶⁸ Ap.Tr. 3.4, Ref. 1 praef. 6; in Com.Dan. 4.31f, Hippolytus' exposition of forgiveness and reconciliation by faith in Christ, "the Priest of priests" ends by affirming the salvation of "those who believe on His name, and propitiate His countenance by good works". The same trend may be reflected in Tertullian's sar-

propitiatory functions to the priesthood.⁶⁹ In Cyprian the primary duty of the bishop is to "offer sacrifices", which accomplish satisfaction and remission of sin.⁷⁰ The priest, acting in Christ's stead, offers to the Father a true and complete sacrifice by imitating faithfully the mystery of the Passion.⁷¹ Another third-century witness, Didasc., argues that "through the bishops the oblations are offered to the Lord for remission of sins".⁷² Thus the exhilāskesthai of Ap. Tr. 3.4 would appear to be as typical of the third century as it was foreign to the second.

5. "and offer to Thee the gifts of Thy holy Church." Clement of Rome, in a crucial passage on the leitourgía of the presbyter-bishops (44.4f), warns against the grave sin of expelling from the episcopate those "améptōs kai hosíos prosenenkóntas tā dōra". The context of his argument and the Biblical parallels to his language make it clear that he was interpreting the Christian

castic reference to Agripinus (or Callistus?) as "Pontifex maximus...benignissimus Dei interpres," De pud. 1, and in some aspects of his own doctrine of the eucharist.

⁶⁹ Origen, Hom. Lev. 5.4 (cf. 9.8, 13.3); C. Celsum 8.33; Horn. Num. 13.3.

⁷⁰ Ep. 57.3, 63.14, 72.2, De dom.or. 4, De eccl.unit. 13. De Laps. 29: "satisfactio et remissio (facta) per sacerdotes apud dominum grata est"; cf. De laps. 16. The priest who offers worthy sacrifices to God has special mediatorial powers for intercession with God (Ep. 67.1ff, cf. 1.2, 65.2, 67.2, De laps. 25), especially for the repose of the dead (Ep. 1.2, 67.2) and the steadfastness of the confessors (Ep. 31.5). Harnack, (D.G.n.54), pp. 464ff, calls special attention to the frequency of "satisfacere deo" and "promereri deum (iudicem)" in the writings of Cypr. Cf. also J. H. Bernard, "The Cyprianic Doctrine of the Ministry", in Swete (n. 14), 228ff.

⁷¹ Ep. 63.14, "ille sacerdos vice Christi fungitur"; cf. 57.3, 59.5.

⁷² Didasc. 2.26.2f (Syr. Lat.); cf. 2.26.3f, 2.32.3, 2.33.2f, where the regenerative effects of baptism are ascribed directly to the bishop as high priest.

liturgical ministry in terms of the Old Testament oblations.⁷³ Lightfoot, in his exegesis of this clause from Clement, concludes that this ministry was ascribed to the presbyters because "they led the prayers and thanksgivings of the congregation, they presented the alms and contributions to God and asked His blessing on them in the name of the whole body".⁷⁴ A consistent line of patristic evidence, especially explicit in Justin Martyr⁷⁵ and Irenaeus,⁷⁶ suggests that this offering (prosphora) continued to

⁷³ I Clem. 40.2, 4, 43.4, 44.2-6; cf. Did. 14.3. A. Romeo (n. 58), p. 513. On dōra (Heb. minhah), cf. the interchange of dōra and thysia in LXX of Gen. 4.3ff; see also LXX, Lev. 1.2 (Alex.), 1.14, 2.1, 4, and often; esp. Lev. 9.7, 15, "tà dōra tou laou"; Test. Isa. 5.3; Mt. 5.23f, 8.4, 15.5 (= korbān, Mk. 7.11), 23.18ff, Heb. 8.3f, 9.9. That the "tēs episkopēs" of I Clem. 44.4 must be taken with the verb "apobálōmen" rather than with "tà dōra" is evident from the "apobállesthai tēs leitourgias" of the preceding verse.

⁷⁴ J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers I, ii (1890), pp. 134f; so also Swete (n. 54), p. 119f. I Clem. never uses the word thysia of the eucharist; the only passage among the Apostolic Fathers to do so is Did. 14.1-3, where the accompanying eucharistic prayers interpret this as a thank-offering for God's gifts in creation and in Christ rather than as a piacular sacrifice; cf. H. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl (1926), pp. 230-238, and O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship (1953), p. 19. Swete (n. 54) pp. 164f, holds that the use of thysia for the eucharist entered patristic thought through a testimonia collection including Mal. 1.11, but "in taking over thysia into the eucharistic language of the Church the earlier writers seem to have distinctly limited it to the Bread and Cup considered as an offering of the fruits of the earth". He notes their rejection of all parallels to animal sacrifice and their refusal to use the verb thyein as an equivalent for prosphérein.

⁷⁵ Just., Dial. 41.1ff, 116f; Harnack, D.G. (n. 54), pp. 225f, 231-235; A. Lukyn Williams, Justin Martyr: The Dialogue with Trypho (1930), p. 241. G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (1945), pp. 110-123, gives a detailed study of the history of the offertory, with special attention to the Roman tradition in Clement, Justin, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. Cf. B. Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos (1951), pp. 21ff, 51ff, and Leitzmann (n. 74), pp. 116, 182, 190 et passim.

⁷⁶ Adv. haer. 4.17.5, 4.18.1-4, 5.2.2; Harnack, D.G. (n. 54), pp. 462f; Hitchcock (n. 66), pp. 262, 269ff; R. Seeberg, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte (1922), p. 460; Dix (n. 75), pp. 113f.

be understood in terms of the liturgical presentation to God of the gifts of the congregation, including the eucharistic elements.

This tradition is preserved in numerous passages of Ap. Tr. 77

It can hardly be a mere coincidence that the closest parallels to the thought and language of most of these sacerdotal clauses from Ap. Tr. 3.4, as also to Ap. Tr. 3.1-3, are found in Roman sources. I Clem. 40-44, especially, shows unmistakable verbal affinity to Ap. Tr. 3.4 and significantly similar associations of pastoral and liturgical concepts, which are often corroborated by Justin Martyr and Irenaeus. Two clauses, however, are in fact incompatible with these essentially homogeneous second-century Roman traditions, but fit very comfortably into the pattern of developing third-century tradition. It is probably safe, therefore, to find the origins of the archiereatein and the hilaskesthai of Ap. Tr. 3.4 in the theological generation that succeeded Irenaeus, and perhaps in Hippolytus himself. 78

The third major section of the ordination prayer (Ap. Tr. 3.5) proceeds to specify the exousiai (potestates) implicit in the high-

77 According to Ap. Tr. 4.2 the deacons "offerant oblationem" (Ap. Cons. 8.12.3, "prosagētōsan tā dōra"; cf. Ap. Tr. 9.11, 23.1) which the people have brought as their offering; see especially G. Dix, (n. 75), pp. 120ff. Thus the baptismal candidates are expected to bring their own proshphorā (Ap. Tr. 20.10, Sa.) for the subsequent eucharist. The laity are also said to offer (offere) oil (Ap. Tr. 5.1), cheese and olives (6.1), fruits (28.1.3), flowers (28.7), or an agape for the needy (26.1).

78 This confirms the statement of C. H. Turner that "sacerdotal language, strictly speaking, is entirely absent from these writers (sc. Iren., Hegesipp., et al.); perhaps it would be true to say that it begins to make its appearance in Hippolytus, since to Hippolytus...succession from the apostles seems to be a personal possession of the bishop"; in Swete (n. 14), p. 129. Much evidence indicates that the last decades of the second century and the beginning of the third century were a period of rapid and extremely significant development. See Harnack D.G. (n. 54), pp. 459f, and Constitution (n. 8), pp. 112-117; on the evolution of Apostolic Succession, Ehrhardt (n. 23), p. 60f et passim; on the gradual but fundamental transformation of the meaning of klēros during the latter half of the second century, Nauck (n. 48), pp. 217-219; on the second-century growth of ideas of priesthood, sacrifice, altar and temple (also related to development of church architecture, liturgy, and clerical vestments), see Long-Hasselmanns and Congar (n. 54), esp. pp. 193-197, 288f, 298ff.

priestly office. The infinitival clause échein exousia, in direct coordination with the infinitives of the preceding sacerdotal clauses, is elaborated by a series of infinitives which define this episcopal potestas. An additional link to the immediately preceding clauses, as well as to the "epiklesis" of Ap. Tr. 3.3, is supplied by the adverbial phrase "tō pneūmati tō archieratikō" which introduces the entire series of subordinated infinitival clauses.

J. Lécuyer has drawn attention to the fact that the term pneūma archieratikón is unknown as a designation of the Spirit of God, and concludes that both the "high priestly spirit" (3.5) and the "princely spirit" (3.3) cannot have a personal sense but must refer to "la grâce spirituelle du souverain sacerdoce" ("une grâce spirituelle créée") pertaining to the episcopal office.⁷⁹ We have seen, however, that the pneūma hēgemonikón of 3.3 must be referred to the divine Spirit rather than to an official Amtsgeist. Furthermore, the "aphiénai hamartías" of 3.5a is a clear reference to Jn. 20.22f, where the Risen Lord had first said, "Lábate pneūma hágion". We have seen above that the early Fathers understood this of the Spirit of God. We may thus refer the unusual title to the concept, familiar both to the New Testament and to the Fathers, that priestly functions could be exercised only in the power of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰

The crucial significance of this unusual title, as of the episcopal ordination prayer as a whole, is not to be sought in an anachronistic concept of an official Amtsgeist but rather in the fact that Hippolytus here, as in Ref. 1 praef. 6, brings into explicit

⁷⁹ Lécuyer (n. 23), pp. 23, 35f. The term "pneūma archieratikón" was equally without precedent as a designation of a high-priestly Amtsgeist; the high-priestly interpretation of the episcopal office was a recent development when Hippolytus wrote. The adjective is not found as a synonym for "episcopal" until the fourth century (Greg. Naz., Ap. Cons., Synesius of Cyrene, Theodoret; see G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, 1961, p. 237).

⁸⁰ Acc. to Ref. 1 praef. 6, it is because the successors of the Apostles have received "tō en ekklēsia paradothēn hágion pneūma" that they participate in their archierateía and didaskalía. Ap. Cons. 8.5.7 also understood the term to refer to the Holy Spirit, and Eth. 2 adapts the phrase to "in the Holy Spirit of the priesthood" (cf. Test. Dom. 1.21, "ut habeat tuum Spiritum poluentem potestate ad solvenda...").

correlation an extremely decisive complex of concepts: (1) ordination by the imposition of hands and prayer, (2) the gift of the Spirit in this ordination, (3) the resulting high priesthood of the bishop, (4) the exousía (potestas) implicit in such an office, and (5) the parallel of this office with the authority of the original Apostles. In this sense the phrase may be said to advance beyond the thought of the second-century Fathers and to be pregnant with the evolution of episcopal doctrine in the third century.

Ordination to other Orders. After the sections on episcopal ordination and the ordination eucharist, Ap. Tr. proceeds to discuss the ordination of presbyters, deacons, and the ordines minores. We must now briefly analyse these articles to discover their implications as to the significance of the ordination of the bishop.

Ap. Tr. 8, on presbyteral ordination, prescribes that the bishop shall ordain the presbyter while the co-presbyters corporately join in laying hands upon the candidate.⁸¹ This corporate imposition of hands seems to be related to the first imposition, by the gathered bishops en corps, at episcopal ordinations (Ap. Tr. 2, 3). Both caused great confusion among later editors, especially in the East. It is probably safe to view this feature as the vestige of very early Roman presbyteral traditions, strongly influenced by Jewish practice.⁸²

⁸¹ Ap. Cons.—Epit. states that the bishop alone lays hands upon the presbyter, but the words "tou presbyterou parestotós soi kal tōn diakónōn" may reveal the influence of Ap. Tr. 8, 1b. It is curious that Cans. Hipp., probably in the interest of its insistence upon the identity of the episcopal and the presbyteral ordination rites, should suppress so "presbyterian" a feature as the ordination en corps of Ap. Tr. 8, 1. Apparently this in turn compelled the Canonist to modify the rubric for diaconal ordination (Ap. Tr. 9, 1), omit most of the argument passage on the diaconate (9, 2-8), and apply the few phrases he retained to a purpose other than that of the original passage.

⁸² See also B. S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (1934), p. 80. A. Ehrhardt, "Jewish and Christian Ordination", J. Eccl. Hist. 5 (1954), p. 132, points out that the presbyteral ordination rite of Ap. Tr. has been adapted to the episcopal traditions and raises the question of the origin of the distinction of presbyteral and episcopal ordination. He notes that the title of presbyter in Judaism presupposed ordination, yet Jewish practice forbade the repetition of the semikah.

Like the ordination rite for the bishop, that for the presbyter gives emphatic expression to the corporate nature of ordination. Because the bishop is consecrated by the entire episcopacy of the universal Church into the ordo episcoporum of the Church catholic, the neighbor bishops share in the first imposition of hands. Presbyteral ordination is an act in the life of the local congregation and joins the newly ordained candidate to the ranks of the local presbyterium; hence the entire presbyteral college joins in laying hands upon him.⁸³

The rubric for the presbyteral ordination prayer (Ap. Tr. 8.1b)⁸⁴ stipulates that the same prayer shall be used for the presbyter as for the bishop, but there follows a very different prayer of a markedly presbyterian character. Some scholars have sought to resolve this apparent contradiction by arguing that the entire presbyteral prayer of Ap. Tr. 8 is an interpolation.⁸⁵ The textual evidence, however, strongly supports the genuineness of the prayer.⁸⁶

⁸³ A. Hamel, Kirche bei Hippolyt von Rom (1951), p. 175; v. Campenhausen (n. 49), p. 192; Botte (n. 16), p. 31; W. H. Frere (n. 14), p. 275.

⁸⁴ The rubric occurs in Lat. and Eth. with the subsequent presbyteral prayer, and in Sa. and Ar. without the prayer. Cans. Hipp. presents a similar but bolder rubric, "let all be done exactly as in the case of the Bishop", and gives no presbyteral prayer.

⁸⁵ J. V. Bartlett, "The Ordination Prayers in the Ancient Church Orders", J.T.S. 17 (1916), pp. 248-256; A. Hamel (n. 83), p. 173. W. H. Frere (in 1915) and K. Müller (in 1924) had argued for an interpolation theory, but both later adopted the suggestion of C. H. Turner: Frere (n. 14), p. 284; Müller, "Noch Einmal Hippolys Ap. Par.", Z.N.W. 28 (1929), p. 273f.

⁸⁶ The combination of Lat., Eth., Ap. Cons.-Epit. and Test. Dom. witnesses to it; Sa. and Ar. omit all the ordination and eucharistic prayers. Cans. Hipp. omits the prayer and presents an episcopal ordination prayer suitable for the ordination of both bishops and presbyters, with frequently contradictory results. For example, it omits didōnai klērous from the episcopal ordination prayer and states that presbyters may lay hands upon bishops; yet in ch. 4 it states that only the bishop can ordain. Again, Cans. Hipp. 3 omits the high priestly clauses of Lat.-Eth.-Epit., yet Cans. Hipp. 24 (- Ap. Tr. 30) refers to the bishop as High Priest. The elaborate attempt of Bartlett to defend the priority of Cans. Hipp. and the interpolation theory of the presbyteral prayer

In 1915 C. H. Turner proposed a solution to this problem which, while bold, has won wide acceptance.⁸⁷ He pointed out that the rubric of Lat. - Eth., well-supported textually, is clearly ambiguous and could have been easily misunderstood in the sense given it by Cans. Hipp., especially if the Canonist's copy of Ap. Tr. had already lost its presbyteral and diaconal prayers. Furthermore, the episcopal prayer of Ap. Tr., supported by overwhelming textual evidence, contains numerous clauses which could not possibly have been applied to presbyters anywhere at any time in the third century. Turner then draws attention to a parallel from the prayer of papal consecration in the Gregorian Sacramentary, where a rubric indicates by key words that the prayer of episcopal consecration is to be followed up to a given point, after which a special section for papal consecration is inserted, and then an identical doxology concludes both prayers. Likewise, Turner suggested, the rubric of Ap. Tr. 8.1 becomes intelligible if it is taken to mean that in presbyteral ordinations the episcopal prayer is to be followed as far as "praise of Thy Name" (Ap. Tr. 3.3 fin), then the uniquely presbyteral petition of 8.2f is to be substituted for the episcopal petitions of 3.4f, and the identical doxology concludes the prayer.

Since the two prayers thus welded together are unmistakably different in style, language, and thought, the resulting amalgam hardly reads smoothly. But such a problem is not without parallel in Ap. Tr.--e.g. the awkward combination of two impositions of hands at episcopal ordination--and is a quite natural outcome of the effort by Hippolytus or his predecessors to harmonize the concurrent episcopal and presbyteral traditions which had co-existed at Rome in earlier decades.

Turner's interpretation of the presbyteral ordination prayer, if correct, involves significant implications for the theology of ordination. The fact that so much of the solemn prayer for consecrating bishops could be employed with equal propriety for the ordination of presbyters, must have been a powerful expression

in Ap. Tr. relied excessively upon highly speculative historical criticism, without sufficient regard to textual criticism. Similarly, H. Achelis, in his effort several decades earlier to prove the priority of Cans. Hipp., resorted to extensive excision of supposed interpolations, on the basis of daring historical criticism usually unsupported by textual evidence.

⁸⁷ C. H. Turner (n. 37), pp. 542-547. Turner's suggestion has been endorsed by Frere, Müller, Dix, Elfers, Lécuyer, and many others.

of the unique and vital unity of these two offices. Above all else, the pneūma hēgemonikōn (Ap. Tr. 3.3), on Turner's hypothesis, was also besought for the new presbyter, who thus shared this heavenly Gift with "the Father's Beloved Child", with the Holy Apostles, and with the bishops of the Church universal.⁸⁸ But the contrast would be equally emphatic when the petitions for the pastoral and the high-priestly offices, with the corresponding exousia, were decisively omitted. The effect of the compound prayer, whether intentional or accidental, would be to suggest that the presbyters share with the bishops their "apostolic charisma" (to use language which Hippolytus himself nowhere employs) but not the potestates of their high-priestly office.

The specifically presbyteral petitions of Ap. Tr. 8.2-4 are strongly Jewish in tone⁸⁹ and emphasize the collegiate nature of the presbyterate. In the prayer itself there is no indication of any distinction between bishops and presbyters, nor of any gradations of rank within the presbytery. The prayer refers to the governmental and (probably) the teaching functions of the presbyters, but says nothing of any liturgical functions.⁹⁰ It beseeches

⁸⁸ Conversely, Turner's solution implies that the identical petition for the "princely Spirit" was pronounced a second time in the episcopal ordination of former presbyters. Elfers (n. 41), pp. 14f has apparently confused the point at which the common material ended and has drawn an opposite conclusion from Turner's proposal. But there is compelling reason for following Turner in not distinguishing the two prayers until the end of Ap. Tr. 3.3: the parallel to Greg. Sacr., the common phrase "this thy servant" (whereas Ap. Tr. 3.2 actually makes no mention of the ordinand), the syntactical unity of Ap. Tr. 3.1-3, and the frequent emphasis of Ap. Tr. upon the corporate unity and the "common spirit" of the presbyterate.

⁸⁹ E.g., Jesus Christ is not mentioned, nor is the Church except as "the People of Thy choice". Cf. Dix (n. 7), p. 216ff.

⁹⁰ Dix, ibid., p. 218f, gives textual grounds for holding that a clause regarding the presbyters' teaching ministry was lost at the end of 8.2. On the corporate emphasis and the absence of liturgical functions see also H. Lietzmann, "Zur Altchristliche Verfassungsgeschichte", Kleine Schriften, ed. K. Aland (1958), Bd. I, p. 179. The silence, however, obviously does not imply that the presbyters had no liturgical functions. Cf. Ap. Tr. 9.2ff, 11.4f, and the share of the presbyters in the liturgical and even sacerdotal functions of the Bishop.

God to impart to the new presbyter "the spirit of grace and counsel" and prays that, as Moses chose the seventy presbyters "whom Thou didst fill with the (or, Thy) spirit which Thou hadst granted to Thy minister", so God would now "grant that there may be preserved among us unceasingly the Spirit of Thy grace".

It is difficult to determine how Hippolytus (and his predecessors from whom he received this prayer) would have understood the "pneūma chāritos kai symboulías" of these petitions. The reference to the seventy elders, in the strongly Jewish context of the prayer, suggests parallel rabbinic exegesis of Num. 11.17 and 27.18, according to which the spirit received by the elders from Moses (presumably by imposition of hands) was passed on in uninterrupted continuity.⁹¹ On the other hand, Clement of Rome uses "pneūma tēs chāritos" as a rather loose designation for the Spirit of God (I Clem. 46.6). Likewise, Justin Martyr, in Dial. 49.3, 6, seems to understand Num. 11.17, 27.18, and Mal. 4.5 as parallel cases involving the direct divine bestowal of the Spirit of God upon prophetic men, without any suggestion of an intervening succession or transmission between Joshua, Elijah, and John the Baptist. In any case, second-century pneumatology

⁹¹ H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch I (1922), pp. 647-661; Dix (n. 7), p. 219, 233-235; Lécuyer (n. 23), p. 43ff. Dix relates "preserve unceasingly" from Ap. Tr. 8.3 to the rabbinic idea of a 'transmission' of the Spirit" in the semikah. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (1958), pp. 203-215, gives ample documentation for the rabbinic belief that the departure of the Spirit resulted not from the interruption of a succession in ordination but from increasing sinfulness among the people (p. 206; cf. Ap. Tr. 8.4b and Iren., Adv. haer. 5.9.3), the destruction of the First Temple (p. 208), or the cessation of prophecy (p. 209). Regarding ordination he concludes that "it is precarious also to assume that rabbinic ordination by the laying on of hands in the first century was meant to signify the transmission of the Holy Spirit, and the evidence is equally uncertain as to the acquisition of the Holy Spirit through the office of the High Priesthood" (pp. 212f). To the same effect see E. Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi (3rd ed., 1898), Bd. II, p. 199; cf. E. Lohse, Die Ordination in Spätjudentum und im N. T. (1951), pp. 50-55, 65, and Ehrhardt (n. 82), pp. 125ff, 137f.

was not marked by the theological precision of later trinitarian definitions nor an always sharp distinction between the divine Spirit and the human spirit.

Ap. Tr. 9, on the ordination of deacons, consists of (a) the ordination rite, 9.1a, (b) the ordination prayer, 9.9-12, and, inserted awkwardly between them, (c) a long argument in defense of the ordination of the deacons by the bishop alone rather than by the corporate presbytery.

No details are given concerning the rite for the ordination of the deacons, except that the bishop alone shall lay hands upon him and shall pronounce the ordination prayer. As the subsequent "argument passage" confirms, the basically different nature of the diaconal ordination rite gives expression to the fact that (a) unlike the ordination of bishops and presbyters, the ordination of deacons is not essentially a corporate act and (b) the deacon is personally subordinate to the bishop. The ordination prayer beseeches God to grant to the new deacon "spiritum sanctum gratiae et sollicitudinis et industriae" that he may minister to the Church and assist the high priest in the liturgical offering.

The intervening argument passage (Ap. Tr. 9.2-8) defends the direction that the bishop alone should ordain the deacons. It is obviously the fruit of controversy, probably a reaction against the ambition of the deacons to achieve greater dignity and authority. The passage is very significant with regard to the theology of ordination and the inter-relationships of the three ordines maiores, but it is beset by textual difficulties and uncertainties more vexing than those of any of the preceding sections.⁹² The "sicuti et praecipimus" and the disjointed sequences of the passage (cf. 9.1, 5, 9) leave little doubt that the entire discussion was a late insertion between the rubric and the prayer.⁹³

The first argument (Ap. Tr. 9.2) asserts that the presbyters, unlike the deacons, are ordained corporately because their ordination is an "ordination for the priesthood". This priesthood is

⁹² It survives intact in Lat. and Eg. Ch. Or., although with considerable textual variation. There is no hint of it in Ap. Cons. Epit., but Test. Dom. 1.38 preserves most of Ap. Tr. 9.2, and Test. Dom. 1.34 and Cans. Hipp. 5 show that some clause similar to Ap. Tr. 9.3 must have been in their common source. Test. Dom. 1.30 and Cans. Hipp. 6 may also contain displaced remnants of Ap. Tr. 9.4.

⁹³ Elfers, K.O. Hipp. (n. 41), pp. 16-20, gives the best defense of the genuineness of the argument passage. Dix and Botte also recognize its originality; it is rejected by Frere (n. 14), pp. 285f, Coppens (n. 13), pp. 148f, and Bartlet (n. 85), pp. 251-255.

shared corporately by all the presbyterate (including the bishop), but not by the deacons.⁹⁴ This first argument recalls the episcopal ordination prayer, while the second argument (9.3) echoes the language and thought of the ordination prayer for presbyters. Bishops and presbyters are ordained corporately because they are fellow-counsellors (sýmbouloi) in a presbyteral college to which the deacons do not belong. The third argument gives the charismatic counterpart to the first two: the deacon, "not receiving the Spirit which is common to the presbyterate in which the presbyters share", can act only in subordination to the bishop and hence is appropriately ordained by him alone.⁹⁵

This last phrase, which in Latin reads "non accipiens communem praesbyterii spiritum eum cuius participes praesbyteri sunt", reappears in Ap.Tr. 9.6, which states that the entire presbytery lays hands upon a new presbyter "propter communem et similem cleri spiritum". In contrast to the language which we have previously studied, these phrases taken alone could suggest the thought of an official clerical Amtsgeist.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ The deacon is ordained (9.1, 5) because he performs a liturgical ministry in the offering of the oblation (11.4f). But he does so only as the assistant of the bishop, and hence is not ordained to a priesthood. It is probable that the explicit application of sacerdotal concepts to presbyters in this passage is something of a novum; cf. Long-Hasselmans (n.54), pp. 193-197, and Dix (n. 7), p. 225.

⁹⁵ This clause (Ap.Tr. 9.4) is especially doubtful textually, since Lat. is grammatically confused and Eg.Ch.Or. gives a clearly inferior variant.

⁹⁶ So Lécuyer (n. 23), pp. 43-46; Elfers, K.O. Hipp. (n. 41), pp. 18-20. On the basis of Euseb. H.E. 5.1.10 Elfers seeks to interpret the word cleri in the literal sense of a "share" in the Amtscharisma, an "Anteil am Charisma des Geistes", and thus translates Ap.Tr. 9.6 by "den gemeinsamen und gleichen Amtsgeist" (p. 20). Such a use of klēros, however, is unattested in the second or early third century Fathers. In Adv.haer. 3.3.3 Iren. uses "inheritance of the episcopate" in the sense of succession to the office; cf. 4.8.3 and Cod.Just. 1.3.38.2, Just., Nov. 6.1.7; see further Nauck (n. 48), pp. 216-219. The phrase "in clero" in Ap.Tr. 9.3 (cf. 10.2, Sa. "klēros") and the noun "clerum" in 9.8 (Sa., klērikōs; cf. 26.12) cannot bear the sense proposed by Elfers. These uses of the word, plus the parallel structure of the three arguments in Ap.Tr. 9.2-8, show that "spiritus cleri" (9.6) is synonymous with "praesbyterii spiritus" (9.4).

These unusual expressions must be examined in the closest relation to their context. The entire passage is intended to justify the unilateral ordination of the deacon in contrast to the corporate ordination of the presbyters. Specifically, the phrase in 9.4 explains why the deacon is not a co-counsellor of the clergy, sharing their deliberative functions, but must serve the bishop as his personal helper and messenger. The passage argues that "the similar Spirit common to all the clergy" qualifies the presbyters for a sphere of responsibility from which the deacons are excluded, and that the corporate participation of the presbyterate in this common pneumatic endowment is appropriately expressed in their ordination en corps.

It is clear from this context that the charismatic distinction between the presbyter and the deacon is not viewed as the result of the difference in the forms of their ordination, but as one of the reasons for that difference. It is not stated that the "non accipiens" of the deacon is due to the fact that the bishop alone laid hands upon him. On the contrary, it is inherently improbable that the charismatic-sacramental transmission of an Amtsgeist to the presbyters would depend upon the corporate "sealing" of the co-presbyters, whereas the bishop alone would not communicate a spiritus cleri to the deacon. The passage does not seem to be based on the assumption that a specialized Amtscharisma is communicated ex opere operato to the presbyter, but rather that the nature of the presbyteral office—its corporate unity and its charismatic qualifications—is appropriately expressed in a form of ordination which would be inappropriate for the ordination of deacons.⁹⁷

What was meant by the "Spirit common to all the presbyterate"? We have seen that in the presbyteral ordination prayer the officiant petitions God to impart the "spirit of grace and counsel" to the presbyter and to the corporate presbyterate. That this was besought for the entire presbyteral council, as the common endowment of all the "fellow-councillors", is thoroughly appropriate to the language of Ap. Tr. 9.2-8, just as the "spirit of

⁹⁷ H. Achelis, Die Canones Hippolyti (1891), pp. 159-165, 174, 219ff, points out that in the early Church the bishops and presbyters were expected to possess charismatic qualifications whereas the deacons, because of the practical nature of their responsibilities, were required to demonstrate the natural abilities appropriate to their task. Hence, he argues, confessors were included among the presbyters rather than among the deacons.

grace and solicitude and industry" (9.11) requested for the deacon corresponds to his more pedestrian functions as described in the argument passage. Even more striking is the petition for the outpouring of the "power of the princely Spirit" which was common to both episcopal and presbyteral ordination, if the hypothesis of C. H. Turner is correct. We have seen above that this phrase must be understood of the Spirit of God, by whose fulness and power alone the bishops and presbyters could be charismatically qualified to guide and govern the People of God and to fulfill their liturgical-sacerdotal ministry.⁹⁸

Two additional passages from the writings of Hippolytus confirm this conclusion. In Ref. 1 praef. 6 Hippolytus, in language similar to that of Ap. Tr. 3.3, writes that the heresies will be refuted by none other than "*tὸ en ekklesia paradothὲn hágion pneūma*". As successors of the Apostles the bishops share in this grace ("*τὸ te autēs chάritos metéchontes*") and hence in their archieratēia, didaskalia, and guardianship (as phrouroi). Since Ap. Tr. nowhere suggests that bishops receive a chárisma other than the "communis praesbyterii spiritus", it seems clear that Hippolytus understood this as the Holy Spirit.

The second passage is found in Ap. Tr. 10.1ff, on the ordination of confessors.⁹⁹ We must now analyze carefully the bearing of this section upon the meaning of ordination in Ap. Tr.

98 That the pneūma archieratikón was not besought for the presbyters is due, of course, to the high-priestly nature of the clauses within which it occurs. Ap.Tr. 8.2-4 definitely implies, however, that the priestly ministry was also the corporate function of the presbyterate, and an analysis of Ap.Tr. reveals that the presbyters shared in many or all of the bishop's priestly functions. Thus the one "Holy Spirit of the priesthood" (Eth. 22) empowers the bishop for his high-priestly ministry and the presbyters for their corporate share in that priesthood. See also below on the right of confessors to bind and loose.

99 The critical edition proposed by Dix (n.3), p. 19, is as follows: "10.1. But if a confessor (homologētēs) has been in chains in prison for the Name, hands are not to be laid on (cheirōtenein) him for the diaconate or the presbyter's office. For he has the office (timē) of the presbyterate by his confession (homologia). But if he be appointed (kath.) bishop, hands shall be laid on him. 10.2. And if he be a confessor who was not brought before a public authority nor punished with chains nor condemned to any penalty but was only by chance ~~de~~rided for the Name, though he confessed, hands shall be laid on him for every order (klēros) of which he is worthy." Cans.Hipp. 6 adds a clause on slave-

That the original Ap.Tr. included a section "On Confessors" is evident from the presence of such an article in all forms of Eg.Ch.Or., Cans.Hipp., and Test.Dom., plus some remnants of the passage in Ap.Cons.-Epit. (the Verona Lat. is defective at this point). Since these provisions were already archaic by the time the earliest versions were produced, however, the extant forms of the text are exceedingly corrupted and contradictory.

Amid the many variants four points are firmly attested: (1) a distinction is made between full confessors and light confessors, (2) full confessors belong to the presbyterate without the laying on of hands but (3) need to be formally ordained (kathistánein) for the office of bishop, and (4) light confessors can become presbyters only through the laying on of hands.¹⁰⁰

One phrase, in the confusion of textual variants which the documents present in this section, is so constant as to be almost surely original. All the versions attest, in one form or another, the statement that the confessor "has the honor of the presbyterate by his confession".¹⁰¹ No other explicit declaration to this

confessors: "Ist es ein Sklave, der um Christi willen eine Strafe ertragen hat, so wird er Presbyter für die Gemeinde. Wenn er auch die Auszeichnung (die Insignien; Achelis, formam) des Presbytertums nicht erhält, so hat er doch den Geist des Presbytertums erhalten, und der Bischof bete nicht, durch Recitation vom Heiligen Geiste" (Riedel, Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats, 1900, p. 204).

100 The provisions outlined above are attested by Sa., Ar., Cans.Hipp., and Test.Dom., and almost certainly represent the basic structure of the original passage. For a general discussion of the subject see Hamel(n. 83), pp. 147-160. On the various classes of martyrs see also Hamel's references to Holl and Labriolle; and H. Delehaye, Les origenes du culte des martyrs (1933), p. 17f. Cf. Eusebius, H.E. 5.4.3; Hipp., Comm.Dan. 2.37.1-4, Ref. 9.11.4, 9.12.10; Tert., De pud. 22; Adv.Prax. 1; Cypr., Ep. 12.1 (cf. 10.5); De mort. 17.

101 So Sa., Ar., Eth. (text defective for last three words); Test.Dom. 1.39, "Habet enim honorem cleri... per confessionem"; Cans.Hipp. 6, "so ist ein solcher des Presbyteranges von Gott gewürdigt worden... Sein Bekenntnis ist seine Ordination". (Riedel, p. 204). Although Ap.Cons. 8.23 (Epit. 14) transforms the article into a polemic against charismatics, it nevertheless retains much of the original phrasing, but adds that any unordained confessor who seeks to usurp ecclesiastical office must be rejected as "worse than an infidel". E. Schwartz, Über die

effect has survived in our extant patristic literature, and no other passage states directly that confessors held presbyteral status without the laying on of hands. Dix has therefore suggested that Ap. Tr. 10 may represent a "private idea" of Hippolytus or a "special practice" of his sect,¹⁰² while J. Coppens views it as a temporary concession by Hippolytus (or an interpolator) to Montanist pressures.¹⁰³

On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that the provisions of Ap. Tr. 10 cannot be so lightly dismissed. Hippolytus was an arch-conservative and sought in his Church Order to represent faithfully the Roman traditions as he had known them. He was firmly anti-Montanist and rejected specifically their claim to prophetic gifts;¹⁰⁴ the anti-hierarchical tendency of Montanist ecclesiology was certainly foreign to his thought. The problem is further complicated by the fact that Callistus, his arch-enemy, was a confessor and a former slave.¹⁰⁵ Since these stipulations on confessorship would strengthen the prestige of his rival, it is doubtful that Hippolytus would have inserted them unless they were so recognized an element of Roman practice that to omit them would have been evident infidelity to tradition. Finally, these unusual clauses are not as entirely unprecedented and unparalleled as may at first appear to be the case.

pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen (1910), pp. 32f, discusses this emendation from the standpoint of historical criticism.

¹⁰² Dix (n. 7), pp. 223f; but Dix also finds in Herm., Vis. 3.1.8-2.2 a possible indication that Ap. Tr. 10 "is reporting a genuine second-century custom of the Roman Church which was becoming obsolete in his own day", p. 224. Congar (n. 54), pp. 297f, dismisses the problem a priori.

¹⁰³ Coppens (n. 13), p. 152.

¹⁰⁴ See Hamel (n. 83), pp. 120-127. The strong textual support for the originality of the passage also makes it most unlikely that a later pro-Montanist interpolated the section, as suggested by Coppens.

¹⁰⁵ Hipp., Ref. 9.11.4ff. Hipp. seeks in every way to discredit the martyrdom of Callistus, yet he repeatedly calls him a martyr. The fact that Victor, although he knew the scandal of the case of Callistus, gave him a monthly allowance and sent him to Antium (Ref. 9.12.13) may presuppose the conditions of Ap. Tr. 110; cf. Hamel (n. 83), pp. 154f, and Achelis (n. 97), pp. 221-223. If the provisions of Cans. Hipp. 6 concerning slave-confessors are original, there would have been all the more reason for Hippolytus to pass over this issue in discreet silence, had that been possible.

The prophet Hermas, in Vis. 3.1.8, is told by the presbýtera to sit upon the "sympsalion elephántinon" (3.1.4) but demurs, insisting that the presbýteroi should be seated first. When he then sought to sit on the right hand, the ancient lady made him sit on the left because the places on the right were reserved for the martyrs.¹⁰⁶ Although the passage is typically obscure, it seems clear that Hermas meant to assert the right of martyrs and prophets to a seat in the presbyteral bench, at least in the heavenly Church.¹⁰⁷

Whereas in Ignatius and Mart. Pol. the klēros of the martyr is his "lot" or "destiny", the epistle from Vienna and Lyons (177/8 A.D.) speaks of a "klēron tōn martyrōn" to which new martyrs were added (Euseb., H.E. 5.1.10, 26, 48). The Artemonian Monarchians, when no orthodox bishop would ordain any

¹⁰⁶ On the Hermas passage see K. Holl, Gesammelte Aufsätze II (1928), p. 69, and H. v. Campenhausen, Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche (1936), pp. 108f. Rev. 4.4 describes the royal presbyteral bench of the heavenly Church in terms also used of the martyrs (throne, Rev. 3.21, et al.; crown, Rev. 2.10, et al., Mart. Pol. 19.2, Herm. Vis. 8.3.6; white garments, Rev. 3.4f, et al.). Cf. Ign., Magn. 13.1, Cypr. Ep. 39.1, 5, 40.1, 59.19. K. Müller (n. 19), pp. 119f, 274, argues that martyrs, prophets, and perhaps ascetics and other charismatics, sat among the presbyters in the Ehrensitze; for evidence that the confessors began claiming the status and prerogatives of crowned martyrs, see Ehrhardt (n. 23), pp. 92-94.

¹⁰⁷ Orig., Ad mart. 30, the martyrs, baptized with the baptism of Christ, are "the priests of whom (Christ) is the High Priest" and "they offer sacrifice on the heavenly altar" (cf. his description of ascetics as "perfect priests" in Adv. Cels. 7.48 and Com. Mat. 16.25). Clem. Alex., Strom. 6.13, the charismatic Christian gnostic is "enrolled in the select group of the apostles" and is "a presbyter of the church, a true minister (diákonos) of the will of God...not as being ordained (cheirotonouménos) by men"; even if here on earth he is not honored with the chief seat (protokathedria), in heaven he will sit among the elders on the twenty-four thrones. Telfer (n. 7), pp. 117f, comments that "a person who could speak thus could hardly think of any empirical succession in office as a sure and indispensable guarantee of episcopal doctrine". Conversely, the basic thought of Clement and Origen in these passages is thoroughly compatible with the provisions of Ap. Tr. 10.

of their partisans to the episcopacy, sought to provide them-selves with a valid hierarchy by enlisting the confessor Natalios for the office.¹⁰⁸ At about the same time (ca. 200 A.D.) Tertullian wrote that Valentinus was indignant when another was chosen bishop "ex martyrii praerogativa" and that the servant of God who is "in an inferior place" (minoris loci) may come to "have a more important one, if he has made some upward step by enduring persecution".¹⁰⁹ Even Cyprian, who wrote several decades later when some confessors were scandalously abusing their privileges, recognizes that their "caelestis gloriae dignitas" represents a certain transcendental claim to ecclesiastical office.¹¹⁰ Thus he states that Celerinus should be added to the clergy "non humana suffragatione sed diuina dignatione...quia nec fas fuerat nec decebat sine honore ecclesiastica esse quem sic Dominus honorauit caelestis gloriae dignitate".¹¹¹ In other passages Cyprian suggests that God has providentially spared the confessors so that they might adorn the clergy of His Church.¹¹² Cyprian's irregular procedure in assuring presbyteral rank to Celerinus and Aurelius and thus granting them the remuneration of presbyters, when he appointed them only as readers (39.5, 38.2), and his apparently similar promise of "a larger office" ("ad ampliorem locum in religionis suae") to the confessor-presbyter Nomidius (40.1), show clearly that certain unusual ecclesiastical

¹⁰⁸ Euseb., H. E. 5.28.8-12. G. Bardy, La Théologie de l'Église de saint Irenéen au concile de Nicée (1947), p. 56, concludes from this episode that confessorship conferred no valid claim to sacerdotal powers, but the issues involved were specifically the episcopal office and the power to ordain. These would likewise have been forbidden to Natalios by the provisions of Ap. Tr., even apart from his heresy.

¹⁰⁹ Tert., Adv. Val. 4; De fuga 11.

¹¹⁰ Ep. 39.1; cf. 5.2, 13.1, 14.2, De Laps. 4, but also De eccl. unit. 20, 21.

¹¹¹ Ep. 39.1, cf. 4. In 38.1f Cyprian explains that, in contrast to the normal procedure of consulting the general opinion to weigh the candidates, "expectanda non sunt testimonia humana cum praecedunt diuina suffragia", for Aurelius was "a Domino iam probatus" and by his confessorship was "maior in honore" so that "merebatur clericae ordinationis ulteriores gradus et incrementa maiora".

¹¹² Ep. 38.1, 39.5, 40.1; cf. Test. Dom. 1.39.

claims were recognized as valid for confessors.¹¹³

One very significant clerical function which the confessors exercised was that of reconciling penitents and restoring them to the communion of the Church. In the letter from the Churches of Lyon it is reported that the confessors "defended all, but accused none. They absolved all, but bound none", just as Stephen had prayed for the forgiveness of his persecutors (H.E. 5.2.5). The anti-Marcionite bishop Apollonius condemns the reported corruption of the Montanist pseudo-Martyrs and asks how such martyrs and prophets can forgive sins (H.E. 5.18.6f). Tertullian, while still a Catholic, recognized the power of the martyrs to grant the pax and urges them to exercise it in the unity of the Spirit.¹¹⁴ Origen held that the power to bind and loose depends on the gift of the Spirit; and anyone who by his life demonstrates this gift may exercise the same power, speaking in the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁵ Soon after 250 A.D. Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to Fabian of Antioch reporting that the martyrs had borne charismatic witness to the forgiveness of the lapsed, and asks whether he as bishop ought to share their judgment or risk disorder by weighing and testing such charismatic proclamations.¹¹⁶ During the Decian persecution in Carthage the confessors sought to exercise the same rights, but Cyprian reacted sharply against their abuses of it and sought to bring the discipline and restoration of the lapsi under the control of the hierarchy. He recognizes, however, that

¹¹³ Cf. Dix (n. 7), p. 224, Frere (n. 14), p. 291. Cyprian nowhere suggests that confessors are presbyters without ordination; to the contrary, the language of Ep. 29, 33, 38, 40, makes it quite improbable that the rule of Ap.Tr. 10 was recognized by either Cyprian or his opponents.

¹¹⁴ Tert., Ad mart. 1; cf. Pass. Perp. 13. In his Montanist writings Tertullian condemns abuses of the practice, without repudiating the custom itself. He insists that light confessors are not entitled to the same prerogatives (De pud. 22, Adv. Prax. 1) and objects to the laxity with which their power to absolve is extended to cases of flagrant immorality for which there has been no repentance. In De pud. 21 he maintains that the power of absolution pertains only to the "Church of the Spirit" working through spiritual men, i.e. apostles or prophets, and not to "the Church which consists of a number of bishops".

¹¹⁵ Orig., De orat. 28.8-10, but see also In Mt. 12.14.

¹¹⁶ Euseb., H.E. 6.42.5f; Müller (n. 19), pp. 313f, infers from Dionysius' inquiry that until then the bishops had not presumed to judge the prophetic declarations of the martyrs.

the "praerogativa eorum apud Deum" was in some way effective on behalf of the lapsi.¹¹⁷

In the light of this evidence the statement of Ap. Tr. 10 becomes at least credible. It is true that no other exactly equivalent passage survives to confirm its assertion, but on the other hand no known historical evidence makes it impossible for second-century Rome. Nor does it seem probable that Hippolytus would have invented such a provision. Many patristic passages suggest that some such concept of "ordination by blood" developed collaterally with the emerging doctrine of "baptism by blood" (cf. Ap. Tr. 19.2), that this extended in some way to surviving confessors, and that their "crown" rights were by no means restricted to the celestial Church. The clerical status of the confessors undoubtedly varied from one place to another, and it may well have reached its most precise constitutional definition in second-century Rome. It was clearly a thing of the past by the time Cyprian locked horns with the brazen lapsi and the erratic martyres of mid-third-century Carthage.

Among the various factors which contributed to the unique authority of the confessors, the conviction that the Spirit of the Risen Christ suffered and triumphed in them was undoubtedly central. New Testament passages such as Mt. 10.18ff, Acts 7.55ff, II Cor. 1.5, Col. 1.24, and I Pet. 4.13f provided a Biblical basis for the charismatic interpretation of martyrdom.¹¹⁸ Ignatius claimed, as God's prisoner, to speak prophetically "with

¹¹⁷ Cypr., Ep. 18.1; cf. Epp. 15-20, 23, 27, 33, 36, 55. Cypr. frequently argues that the martyrs can indeed promise peace to the lapsi, but must then refer them to the bishop. But in extremis a presbyter or deacon can absolve, when a martyr has given a libellus.

¹¹⁸ Parallel concepts in Judaism are discussed by H. Lietzmann, art. "Mártys", in Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (1893ff) 14:2, col. 2045f, and E. Lohmeyer, "Die Idee des Martyriums im Judentum und Urchristentum", Z. Syst. Th. 5 (1927/8), 232-249. Mt. 10.18ff seems to have been the basis of the distinction between full confessor and light confessor. The light confessor did not explicitly fulfill the conditions of this dominical word; thus his confession did not necessarily prove his charismatic endowment. See E. Schwartz (n. 101), pp. 32f.

God's own voice",¹¹⁹ and the Church of Smyrna reported that during their torture the martyrs were transported from the flesh to receive direct revelations from the Lord.¹²⁰ The Lyon epistle reiterates the conviction that the Paraklētos is abundantly present in the martyrs;¹²¹ Jesus Christ suffers in them and manifests his glory, power, and fragrance;¹²² those who suffer for Christ always do so in fellowship with the living God and thus, strengthened by him, conquer Satan "in the power of martyrdom".¹²³

Irenaeus, in an apparent reference to I Pet. 4.14, appeals to the Christian martyrdoms as proof that the Spirit of the prophets rests upon the Church.¹²⁴ Both as a Catholic and as a Montanist, Tertullian shared the conviction that Christ himself dwells and suffers in the martyrs, and the Holy Spirit trains them for combat.¹²⁵ According to Hippolytus (Dan. 2.21.1f) the Spirit of the

¹¹⁹ Ign., Tral. 5.1, 2; Phld. 7.2f. Ign. here also argues that the prophetic Spirit in him could not be deceived, and gives supernatural knowledge. The message of the Spirit was that the people must obey the hierarchy, maintain unity, and keep their flesh pure.

¹²⁰ Mart. Pol. 2.2; cf. Acts of John 103. Mart. Pol. 2.3 interprets the martyrs' vision of Christ and of eternal realities as a fulfillment of I Cor. 2.9; cf. Holl (n. 106), pp. 69-76, 103ff and v. Campenhausen (n. 106), pp. 33, 89ff.

¹²¹ Euseb., H.E. 5.1.10, 34; in 5.1.22 the words of Jn. 7.37-39 are applied to the martyr Sanctus. On the Lyon epistle see esp. v. Campenhausen (n. 106), pp. 87ff.

¹²² Euseb., H.E. 5.1.17, 23, 30, 35; according to 5.1.42 Blandina was "clothed with Christ the mighty and conquering Athlete"; cf. 5.28.11.

¹²³ Ibid. 5.1.41; 5.2.4 asserts that the surviving confessors had shown "τὴν δύναμιν τῆς μαρτυρίας"; cf. 5.1.17-19, 28, 32. Only such supernatural power could conquer the satanic forces with which the martyr made combat; cf. Holl, (n. 106), p. 73.

¹²⁴ Iren., Adv. haer. 4.33.9. Irenaeus seems to have drawn this argument from Theophilus of Antioch, according to Fr. Loofs, Theophilus von Antiochien und die anderen theologischen Quellen bei Irenäus (1930), p. 107.

¹²⁵ Ad. mart. 1, 3, De fuga 8, 10, 14, De pud. 22. In the latter passage, however, he challenges the martyrs to prove that Christ is in them by exposing the secrets of adulterous and evil hearts. They may then, as truly spiritual men, forgive sins.

Father teaches and exhorts the martyrs to despise death, seek Heaven, and conquer through divine power. The martyrs, like the prophets and apostles, have entered heaven; they will never be judged but, sharing in the first resurrection, they will judge with Christ (De Ant. 59, Dan. 2,37,4). Hippolytus frequently correlates the "choir of martyrs" with the apostles and prophets and seems to have viewed them as a charismatic band.¹²⁶ Cyprian, applying Dan. 3,19ff to Christian martyrs, acknowledged no less clearly that "the uncorrupted and unconquered might of the Holy Spirit broke forth by their mouth", fulfilling Mt. 10,19f, and that "the Spirit of God our Father...does not depart nor is separated from those who confess Him" but "Himself both speaks and is crowned in us" (Ep. 58,5). A similar concept appears in Didasc. 5,1,2.

This continuous line of patristic evidence affirming the charismatic quality of martyrdom converges with the charismatic thought of Ap. Tr. as revealed especially in the episcopal ordination prayer and the argument passage on the ordination of deacons. Our analysis of the terms "*pneuma hēgemonikōn*" and "*communis praesbyterii spiritus*" has indicated that they refer to the Spirit of God charismatically manifested in the corporate presbyterate.¹²⁷ Since martyrdom was an undeniable and transcendentally glorious manifestation of this same pneumatic dynamis, it would be natural to conclude that the confessors also shared in

¹²⁶ Dan. 1,17,8f, fathers, prophets, Apostles, martyrs, virgins, teachers, in contrast to "die Ordnung der Bischöfe, der Priester aber und Leviten" (from the Slavic); prophets and martyrs, Dan. 4,14,3; prophets, martyrs, and Apostles, De Ant. 59. Cf. Hamel (n. 83), pp. 146f.

¹²⁷ It is significant that other charismatic ministries, in addition to the confessors, also contended for ecclesiastical recognition within the early Church; see n. 106 and Harnack (n. 8), pp. 133-135; Lietzmann (n. 90), pp. 142f; O. Casel, "Prophetie und Eucharistie", Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft 9 (1929), pp. 1-19; B. Green, Church Quarterly Review, July 1962, pp. 302f. Ap. Tr. 15 (cf. Cans. Hipp. 8) may imply that charismatic healers were also entitled to clerical status, presumably in the presbyterate (9,3, 4); Hamel (n. 83), pp. 177f, v. Campenhausen (n. 49), p. 193, Frere (n. 14), pp. 295f, 309.

the "Spirit of the presbyterate".¹²⁸ But on the other hand the confessors, like all presbyters, must be ordained by imposition of hands in order to receive the high-priestly office and potes-tates of a bishop.¹²⁹

128 There is reason to suspect that Cans. Hipp. 6 (see n. 99) may preserve some genuine elements from the original confessor clause of Ap. Tr.: (1) The phrase "he has received the Spirit of the Presbyterate" is similar to the language and thought of Hippolytus (Ap. Tr. 9.4, 6; cf. Ref. 1 praei. 6) and not characteristic of the Canonist himself. (2) These special restrictions concerning slaves share the viewpoint of Hipp., Ref. 9.11.1ff and 9.12.24 and seem appropriate to Hippolytus' views of both slavery and martyrdom and to his historical situation (cf. n. 105). In contrast, the fourth-century canon of Ap. Cons. 8.47.82 forbids any ordination of slaves except with the permission of their owner. The Canonist, however, shows no particular interest in slavery; in a later passage where Eg. Ch. Or. discusses marriages with slaves (Ap. Tr. 16.23; cf. Ref. 9.12.24), Cans. Hipp. 16 completely omits all reference to the slave status of the partner involved. Thus it would seem difficult to explain the slave clause of Cans. Hipp. 6 as an Alexandrian interpolation in the mid-fourth century, when persecution was no longer common. See Hamel (n. 83), pp. 153f, and Harnack, Geschichte der alt-christlichen Literatur bis Eusebius, Teil 2, Chronologie (1904), II, p. 510. (3) Cans. Hipp. 6 says nothing about the possibility of any confessors' becoming deacons. This conforms to the historical evidence prior to Cyprian and the special emphasis of Ap. Tr. which consistently associate charismatic gifts with the presbyterate rather than the diaconate.

129 In substance the thought of Ap. Tr. agrees basically with the statement of Cans. Hipp. 4 that the episcopal office differs from the presbyteral only in the title of "bishop", the throne and the power to ordain, i.e. in matters of potestates rather than of charisma. Schwartz (n. 101), p. 33, holds that the clause requiring ordination for confessors entering the episcopal office was introduced as a restriction upon their privileges, when episcopal authority became increasingly distinct from and superior to that of presbyters. Dix (n. 75), p. 373, attributes this provision to the supposition that the episcopate is "still the only specifically 'priestly' order in the hierarchy"; but Ap. Tr. 9.2 implies the priesthood of the presbyters, and the entire document reveals their corporate participation in almost all of the sacerdotal functions of the bishop. J. Coppens (n. 13), pp. 158f, believes that the confessor needed ordination for the episcopacy in order to

Conclusion. In Ap. Tr. ordination by imposition of hands (cheirotonéin) is the recognized mode of installation in the three ordines maiores because of their liturgical-eucharistic ministry (11. 4f). The bishops and presbyters are ordained in a corporate form, since they share in the common charismatic endowment and priesthood of the presbyterate (9. 2-8). The deacons, who even in the liturgy act as the helpers and agents of the bishop (9. 2, 11), are ordained by the bishop alone (9. 5, 11. 5). The minor orders are installed (kathistámai, onomázein) by the bishop alone without imposition of hands.

The unique and determinative quality of episcopal ordination consisted in the high-priestly office, functions, and authority associated with it. The fullest clauses of the ordination prayer for the bishop are those dealing with the priestly ministry (Ap. Tr. 3. 4f), in which the terms archierate dein and pneuma archieratikón are decisive. As high priest the bishop propitiates (or beholds) God's face and, like the Apostles, has authority to forgive sins, assign lots, and loose all bonds. Later clauses reaffirm that the bishop is God's "ordained high priest" who has been "found worthy (katéxiōsas, Ap. Cons. 8. 12. 33) to stand before Thee and minister as priest (hierate dein, ibid.) to Thee" (Ap. Tr. 9. 11, 4. 11). While presbyters are also "ordained for a priesthood" (9. 2), the primitive presbyteral ordination prayer, in contrast to the episcopal prayer, makes no mention of sacerdotal or liturgical functions.

The episcopal ordination prayer gives central emphasis to the petition for "the power of the princely Spirit" and seems to have understood this in terms of an effusion of the Spirit of God in the fulness of charismatic power appropriate to the ministry and responsibilities of the office bestowed. This pneumatic dynamis, however, was considered as the corporate endowment of the entire presbyterate; Ap. Tr. does not suggest that a separate

receive the necessary apostolic succession. There is no evidence in Ap. Tr., however, that this was the reason for requiring the ordination as bishop, nor that presbyters do not share the apostolic succession of the bishops. We have seen evidence that the confessors shared (without ordination) the apostolic "pneuma hēgemonikón" (cf. Ap. Tr. 3. 3) and the apostolic power to bind and loose (cf. Ap. Tr. 3. 5). It is significant that Irenaeus ascribes the apostolic succession and the charisma veritatis to presbyters and bishops without distinction (Adv. haer. 4. 26. 2, 5, 3. 2. 2, 3. 3. 1).

pneūma or chárisma, qualitatively distinct from that of the presbyters, is bestowed upon the bishop.¹³⁰ It is expressly stated, on the other hand, that the diaconal office does not involve this same charismatic qualification.

Hippolytus, like Irenaeus before him, insists that the work of the Holy Spirit and the gifts of his grace are to be found only in the Catholic Church, represented by the episcopal-presbyteral hierarchy which has preserved sound doctrine through the generations.

¹³⁰ Hippolytus does not in fact apply the word chárisma to the episcopal or presbyteral offices nor to their respective ordinations. Nor is there any reason to suppose that his lost treatise "peri charismaton" was concerned with specifically hierarchical charísmata; Ap. Tr. 1.1 gives the opposite impression, which is also confirmed by Ap. Cons. 8.1-3, if that passage preserves any vestiges of the original treatise. Ap. Tr. 15.4, the only other reference to charísmata concerns the "chárisma hiamatón" (cf. Ref. 8.19.2). Ap. Tr. 1.5 speaks of the "perfectam gratiam" which the Holy Spirit bestows upon those who believe rightly in order that they may discern true apostolic teaching. This sense of cháris is also found in Dan. 3.16.3f, where Hipp. complains that in his day, as in Daniel's, when one man "becomes worthy to receive a grace from God and be found wiser than the rest", all begin to view him with jealous suspicion. This corresponds to the doctrinal and didactic character of the charisma veritatis in Irenaeus, but is personal rather than hierarchical. In Ref. 6.39ff Hipp. describes and refutes the devices of Marcus, who pretended through long invocations to cause a certain cháris to descend upon the Eucharist and to impart this supernatural power to his followers (cf. Iren., Adv. haer. 1.13.2f). For similar concepts and practices in Gnostic literature, esp. in the Gospel of Philip and the fourth book of Pistis Sophia, see J. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics (1958), pp. 75, 223f. Superstitious ideas of a supernatural charismatic fluidum, as described in Preisigke, Die Gotteskraft der frühchristlichen Zeit (1926), seem to have played no decisive role in Hippolytus' theology of ordination. Signs of their influence are evident in the later emendations of Cans. Hipp., esp. in the emphasis on healing and exorcism by "einer dem Bischof innewohnenden magischen Kraft zur Krankenheilung", acc. to Achelis (n. 97), pp. 157-159 (cf. Cans. Hipp. 3, 5, 21, 24).

Since the Apostles, the Holy Spirit has been bequeathed in the Church from one believing generation to the next,¹³¹ he is by nature "the Spirit that flourishes(or abounds) in the Church". (Ap. Tr. 31.2, 35.3). Because the Montanists claimed greater wisdom and power than that of the Catholic Church, Hippolytus accuses them of magnifying themselves "above the Apostles and every charisma" and even presuming a certain superiority to Christ Himself.¹³²

In some passages Hippolytus goes beyond Irenaeus and suggests that the Spirit works only, or normatively, within the hierarchy. This is perhaps implicit in the use of terms such as "pneuma archieratikón" and "communis et similis spiritus cleri", which reflect a tendency to make priestly and clerical concepts descriptive of the person of the Spirit and to view the Spirit as, in a certain sense, the possession of the hierarchy. The paradothén of Ref. 1 praef. 6 also seems to echo such thinking, especially since the following clause proceeds to speak not of all "those who believe rightly", but only of the priestly successors to the Apostles.¹³³ In both documents this tendency is reinforced

¹³¹ Ref. 1 praef. 6, the Holy Spirit, bestowed at the beginning upon the Apostles, is received by the faithful (tois orthois pepisteukόsin) in the Church of which the bishop is high priest, teacher, and guardian. Irenaeus likewise emphasized the vital bond between the Holy Spirit and the Church. The charismata of the Spirit are placed in the Church and found only in her bosom; Adv. haer. 4.26.5; cf. 2.32.4f, 3.24.1, 44.26.2, 5.6.1. In a passage which is very problematic textually and exegetically, Iren. states that "in eo disposita (or, deposita?) est communicatio Christi, id est Spiritus sanctus" (3.24.1). But the following sentence is unambiguous: those who are not joined to the Church cannot partake of the gifts of the Spirit but "effugientes fidem Ecclesiae, ne traducantur; rejicientes vero Spiritum, et non erudiantur", for "ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia" (3.24.1). On the charisma veritatis of 4.26.2, 5 see K. Müller, Z.N.W. 23 (1924), pp. 216-222 and v. Campenhausen (n. 49), pp. 187f, but cf. Hamel (n. 83), pp. 184ff, Ehrhardt (n. 23), pp. 113ff, and F. Grau, Der neutestamentliche Begriff Charisma (1946), pp. 110-113.

¹³² Hipp., Ref. 8.19.2; cf. Grau (n. 131), p. 119.

¹³³ This paradothén may also contain the implicit suggestion that it was the clergy who in baptism communicated the Holy Spirit to the faithful. As to the doctrinal guardianship of the

by references to Apostolic Succession and by the emphatic distinction between clergy and laity. Likewise, Ap.Tr. 9 distinguishes between "clergy" and the inferior offices, including the deacons, who have not received "the Spirit of the presbyterate". These passages reflect a tendency in Ap.Tr. to understand the charismatic work of the Spirit as normally restricted to the episcopacy-presbyterate, and in that sense it would be proper to speak of an incipient concept of Amtscharisma in the thought of Hippolytus.¹³⁴

In Ap.Tr., however, such an Amtsgeist is by no means the exclusive possession of the episcopacy. The "dynamis tou^ū hégeomonikou pneumatatos" of Christ and the Apostles was for Hippolytus the "communis praesbyterii spiritus", and we have found reason to conclude that the same majestic "Epiklesis" (Ap.Tr. 3.3) was pronounced in both episcopal and presbyteral ordinations. Confessors also, because of their charismatic steadfastness in the Holy Spirit, shared the "Spirit of the presbyterate" and held *ipso facto* presbyteral rank without ecclesiastical ordination. In a broader sense, Ap.Tr. gives very great importance to the work of the Holy Spirit in all the faithful. The Holy Spirit "indwells him who makes place for Him within himself" (37.2a, Eg.Ch.Or.), imparting "virtutem spiritus" to defeat Satan (37.2, Lat.) and "perfectam gratiam" so that "those who believe rightly" are qualified to know how the true tradition should be taught and main-

truth. Ref. 1 praef. 6 is considerably more clerical-hierarchical than the earlier Ap.Tr., and seems contradictory to such passages as Ap.Tr. 1.3-5, 38.3f.

134 We have seen, on the other hand, that the concept of an Amtscharisma as an objective-ontic donum distinct from the Holy Spirit and his work (i.e., as gratia creata, a habitus supernaturally infused through ordination, or a character sacramentalis) cannot yet be found in Hippolytus. Like Irenaeus, he uses the words chárisma, cháris, and dóreá interchangeably for any gift of divine grace, including the Holy Spirit himself; cf. Ref. 1 praef. 6, Dan. 3.2.3, and the passages cited in notes 41 and 130, plus Grau (n. 131), pp. 110f. From Ref. 9.12.21ff, Ap.Tr. 1.4f, 38.3f, it is clear that Hippolytus ascribed no character indelebilis to ordination; cf. Elfers (n. 41), pp. 82f. The thought of Hipp. did represent, however, a stage in the evolution toward later concepts of Amtscharisma as found in Cyprian, Firmilian, Narsai of Edessa, et al.

tained by "those at the head" (1.5). 135

It is characteristic of Ap.Tr. that the conferment of the Spirit to the ordained minister is consistently associated with prayer, in a supplicatory rather than an indicative mood.¹³⁶ There is no "Accipe Spiritum sanctum", and such a clause would in fact be quite foreign to the thought of Hippolytus.¹³⁷ The giving of the Spirit always remains God's free act in answer to prayer. The description of the gift of the Spirit is surprisingly "vertical" in Ap.Tr.; the church prays "propter descensionem spiritus" (2.4), asking God to "pour forth (épichee) the power of the Princely Spirit which is from Thee (para sou)" (3.3). In the presbyteral ordination prayer God is besought to look upon the presbyter-ordinand, impart to him the Spirit of grace and counsel, and conserve in the presbyterate and in the Church the Spirit of His grace

135 The three Egyptian versions give a final article on baptismal requisites (Ap.Tr. 16.25) which states, "If we have omitted anything, decide ye as is fit; for we all have the Spirit of God" (cf. Ap.Cons. 8.1.9f). Ap.Tr. 5.2, which implies that the laity are also anointed with "the hallowing wherewith Thou didst anoint kings and priests and prophets", may refer to the Holy Spirit. The eucharistic (4.12) and confirmation (22.1) prayers also request that the believer may be filled with the Holy Spirit.

136 Frere (n. 14), pp. 307-310, summarizes the theology of ordination in Ap.Tr. under four points: (1) "all gifts of grace are given by God...as He pleases", (2) "the corporate consciousness of the Church recognizes those gifts wherever it sees them", (3) "the local Church is bound to take such action with the main stream of the apostolic tradition behind it", and (4) "this action must also be taken in union, not only with the continuous historic Body, but also with the contemporaneous Body, with the Catholic Church of the day, as represented by the bishops..." Further than this Hippolytus does not go. It is impossible to find in Ap.Tr. the concepts later expressed by De aleatoribus 3f, "...episcopium, id est, Spiritum sanctum per impositionem manus, cordis excepimus hospitio" or Ambrosiaster, Quaestio 93.2, "Spiritus sanctus...per traditionem infunditur ordinatis".

137 P. Batiffol, "La Liturgie du sacre des évêques", Rev. Hist. Eccl. 23 (1927), pp. 733-763, points out that the "Accipe" first entered the Roman ordination rite in the 13th-century pontifical of Durand, which later became the Roman pontifical (pp. 760f.; cf. Denz. 964). Batiffol cites the conclusion of Martene that such a clause was "toti antiquitati ignota", first appearing in the fifth or sixth-century Arlesian rite.

(8.2-4).¹³⁸ The precise structure of the charismatic succession in Ap. Tr. 3.3b conforms fully to this principle: as God at the Jordan poured out His Spirit (vertical) upon the Son, who bestowed the Spirit (horizontal)¹³⁹ upon the Apostles, so now God is besought to pour forth (vertical) the power of the Spirit upon the bishop. In contrast, the essentially different concept of a later century is revealed in Ap. Cons. 8.5.5, where the seemingly innocuous interpolation of "di' hēmōn" results in: "Do Thou now by the mediation of Thy Christ pour forth through us the power of Thy princely Spirit".¹⁴⁰

138 Cf. 9.11, 22.1, 4.12, and the unmediated impartation of the Spirit to confessors, without ordination. See also n. 127. In 9.7 it is clear from Sa. that the object of "dare non habet potestatem" is not "spiritum" but rather "clerum", parallel to the "dare sortes" of 3.5.

139 The edōrēsato seems best understood as a reference to Jn. 20.22. If it refers to Pentecost, the bestowal of the Spirit would again be "vertical". In either case, the structure of 3.3b provides for no horizontal transmission of the Spirit from the Apostles through succeeding generations of bishops, as if perpetuating the "Accipite" of Jn. 20.22 in an uninterrupted horizontal chain of episcopal ordinations.

140 J. Salaverri, "El Concepto de Sucesión Apostólica en el Pensamiento Católico y en las teorías del protestantismo", in XVI Semana Española de Teología (1957), p. 166, emphasizes the basic contrast between the horizontal emphasis of Catholicism and the vertical emphasis of protestantism; cf. also A. M. Javierre, "Cuestiones debatidas hoy entre católicos y protestantes en torno a la sucesión de los apóstoles", ibid. pp. 1-96. In the theology of Ap. Tr. both emphases are significantly combined. Hippolytus, like Irenaeus, lays great stress on the faithful pará-dosis of true, apostolic doctrine in the Church. The clearly horizontal language of Ap. Tr. 1.3 urges the faithful to "hold fast to that tradition which has continued until now" (cf. 1.5, 38.2f). If "*tò en ekklēsia paradothèn hágion pneūma*" of Ref. 1 praef. 6 implies continuous horizontal transmission of the Spirit through successive ordinations, in contrast to the consistently vertical emphasis of Ap. Tr. at this point, it would be necessary to conclude that this passage represents a development later than the theology of the ordination prayers of Ap. Tr. However, the entire passage includes no explicit reference to ordination, and the inclusive "*metēdosan tois orthōs pepisteukōsin*" strongly suggests that the paradothén is not restricted to the ordained clergy alone, especially since the same phrase in Ap. Tr. 1.5 stands in contrast

The theology of ordination in Ap. Tr. is a prism in which the divergent currents of the second century are both separated and united. There are clear linguistic, textual, and theological signs of an episcopal and a presbyteral tradition (and perhaps also a "charismatic" tradition whose relation to the other two is not entirely clear). In fusing these together, Hippolytus was also influenced by the rapidly developing concepts of the end of the second century: the newly-emerged emphasis on the high-priesthood of the bishop, the increasingly juristic and precise definition of potestates, and the widening gulf between clergy and laity.

to "eos qui ecclesiae praesunt". The passage from Ref. can be equally well-understood in the sense of Ap. Tr. 1.1, that God has "from the beginning bestowed on men according to His own will" the charismata of the Spirit.

CHAPTER THREE

THE AUTHORITY OF THE BISHOP IN THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION

We must now examine the authority actually exercised by the bishop and the functions involved in his episcopal office. These may be considered under three aspects: (1) What titles were applied to the bishop and his office? (2) What explicit claims of dignity and authority were asserted regarding him? (3) In practice, what functions did his office involve, and how were these related to those of other offices and of the laity?

The Titles of the Bishop

High Priest (Archiereús). Our analysis of the bishop's ordination has shown that the emphasis upon his high-priesthood was an extremely significant characteristic of the thought of Hippolytus. In addition to the verb archieratein in the episcopal ordination prayer, the title archiereús occurs in two other passages of Ap. Tr. The Ethiopic of 9.11 speaks of God's "ordained high priests", confirmed by the phrase "haereditate principatus sacerdotii tuo" in the corresponding passage of Test. Dom.¹ The prayer in Lat. breaks off with "offerre" just before this title, but its close parallel to Eth. where it is extant suggests that it would probably have finished the clause with the same phrase. Secondly, Ap. Tr. 30.1 states that "Ualde enim oblectatur infirmus cum memor eius fuerit princeps sacerdotum".² There is thus no reason to doubt that the original Ap. Tr. referred to the bishop as high priest, despite the omission of the term by Cans. Hipp. in the first two passages.

Two other passages from Ap. Tr. also describe the Christian ministry in priestly terms. Ap. Tr. 9.2, contrasting the ordination of the deacon with that of the presbyter, states that the former "non in sacerdotio ordinatur". We have seen in the preceding chapter that this statement implies the corporate priesthood

¹ Test. Dom. 1.38; the "haereditate" suggests that the original Greek adjective may have been klerothéntōn (cf. Iren., Adv. haer. 4.8.3).

² Eth., Sa., Ar., and Test. Dom. of this passage correspond exactly to Lat. Cans. Hipp. 24 reads: "es ist für den Kranken von Wichtigkeit, dass ihn der Oberpriester ("principe sacerdotum", Achelis) besucht", W. Riedel, Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats (1900), p. 216.

of the presbyterate.³ In the eucharistic prayer the bishop gives thanks because "thou has found us worthy to stand before Thee and minister as priests (hieratefein) to Thee" (4.11). It is difficult to determine the subject of this phrase and of the "offerimus" and "gratias tibi agentes" preceding it. Since in Ap. Tr. the ministry of the eucharist pertains characteristically to the bishop, the verb could well be understood as an editorial plural referring to the bishop himself. On the other hand, since archieratefein rather than hieratefein is the characteristic term for the episcopal ministry in Hippolytus and since Ap. Tr. 9.2 refers to the corporate sacerdotium of the presbyterate, it is equally plausible to ascribe the hieratefein to the presbyters who together have laid hands upon the oblation (4.2) and in and through the bishop fulfill their priesthood.⁴ Finally Dan. 1.17.8, after listing a long series of extra-hierarchical charismatic offices which correspond to the "blooming trees" of Paradise, concludes rather awkwardly with "die Ordnung der Bishöfe, der Priester aber und Leviten". This discontinuous terminology is probably due to the use of "bishop" as a synonym for "high priest" and of "priests and Levites" as oblique references to the presbyters and deacons.⁵

³ Cf. G. Dix, "The Ministry in the Early Church", The Apostolic Ministry (1947), ed. K. E. Kirk, p. 225.

⁴ So H. Elfers, Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts von Rom (1938), pp. 198-204. Others have suggested that the subject of "gratias tibi referimus" (4.4, 11), "offerimus" (4.11), and "nos dignos habuiste...ministrare" (4.11) may be the entire congregation; cf. the "nobis" to whom God sent the Savior (4.4) and the "laudemus et glorificemus" (4.13), which clearly refer to the entire Church. Justin Martyr spoke of the entire Christian community as "áxios" and as the "archieratikón tò aléthinón génos" (Dial. 116.3, 117.2, I Apol. 65.1) and usually speaks of the congregation as the subject of the eucharistic offering (cf. Iren., Adv. haer. 4.18.5). Cf. Long-Hasselmans, "Un Essai de theologie sur le sacerdoce catholique", critical remarks by Y. Congar, Rev. Sc. Rel. 25 (1951), p. 272. These alternatives, however, are not in fact antithetical in Ap.Tr. It is the entire Church which offers the Eucharist, through its corporate priesthood which culminates in the bishop.

⁵ Cf. A. Hamel, Kirche bei Hippolyt von Rom (1951), pp. 166, 174.

There is thus some evidence that Hippolytus also taught the priesthood of the presbyterate, although he placed more explicit and predominant emphasis upon the high priesthood of the bishop. On the other hand, he does not seem to have stressed the primacy of the bishop as arch-hiereús (árchōn of the inferior priests) but rather the corporate unity of the Church's one priesthood.

Functionally, this high-priesthood was related especially to the liturgical ministry of the Eucharist (11.4f, 4.11; cf. 9.11). According to Ap. Tr. 3.5 it also included the power to forgive sins, to ordain, and to loose every bond.

Leader (proistámenos). Another title which refers primarily, if not exclusively, to the bishops is "those who are at the head of the Church".⁶ The verb proistémi meant either "to be at the head of" or "to care for" and may originally have referred especially to the direction of the beneficence ministry of the congregation.⁷ Since this ministry was so theologically significant and so central to the liturgical worship, the term became a synonym for general leadership in the Church. Hermas is told to read his little book "*metà tōn presbytéron tōn proistaménōn tēs ekklēsias*" (Vis. 2.4.3; cf. Ign., Magn. 6.1, 2). In the writings of Justin Martyr the proestōs preaches, leads the Eucharist, holds the funds, and administers the relief program (Apol. I 65, 67). F. E. Brightman has pointed out that since Justin distinguishes the proestōs from the deacon and the reader, the term must have referred either to a bishop or presbyter.⁸ By the end of the second century it had become a recognized title for the bishop.

Hippolytus' attitude toward "those at the head of the Church" when he wrote Ap. Tr. is clearly shown by the controversial context in which he employs this term. "The many heresies increased", he writes in concluding Ap. Tr., "because those who were at the head would not learn the purpose of the Apostles but according to their own pleasure do what they choose and not what

⁶ Ap. Tr. 1.5, "eos qui ecclesiae praesunt"; 38.3, "those who were at the head (Sa., proistánai)". The term is used only in the Prologue and Epilogue, and in both cases is plural.

⁷ H. v. Campenhausen, Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht (1953), p. 70; J. Colson, Les fonctions ecclésiales aux deux premiers siècles (1956), p. 126.

⁸ F. E. Brightman, "Terms of Communion and the Ministration of the Sacraments in Early Times", in Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry, ed. H. B. Swete (1918), p. 394. W. Telfer, The Office of a Bishop (1962), p. 166, holds that proestōs was an apologetically concealed title for the bishop.

is fitting" (38.3).⁹ But "all who hearken to the Apostolic tradition" are invulnerable to the wiles of the heretics (38.2); indeed "those who have been rightly instructed" are charismatically qualified (with the expert help of Hippolytus) to "know how those who are at the head of the Church should teach the tradition and maintain it in all things" (1:3-5).

Aside from these two passages where proistámenoi is used in a critical sense, Ap.Tr. nowhere employs honorific titles which emphasize the governmental or doctrinal authority of the bishop or his primacy over the laity and the rest of the clergy. Ap.Tr. 3.2 affirms that God instituted "árchontás te kai hiereis" in Israel (cf. 5.2, "reges, sacerdotes, et prophetas"), but Ap.Tr. never refers to the bishop by this title nor by hēgoúmenos, nor by their Latin equivalents princeps and dux.¹⁰ Lécuyer has sought to derive from the terms "pneúma hēgemonikón", "pneúma archieratikón", and "archiereús" in Ap.Tr. the concepts of "hēgoúmenos" and "árchōn" as implied titles for the bishop.¹¹ We have seen, however, that the first two terms refer to the Spirit of God rather than to the bishop himself. To extract a political-governmental title such as árchōn from the prefix of the religious-sacerdotal term archiereús would seem both philologically precarious and theologically incompatible with Hippolytus' concept of priesthood. Ap.Tr. nowhere discusses the contrast between the archiereús and the hiereis nor emphasizes the inferior status of the latter.

⁹ The language of Ap.Tr. 1.4f and 38.2f is remarkably similar to that of Hippolytus' bitter attack on Zephyrinus and Callistus in Ref. 9.11.1-9.12.16.

¹⁰ The second-century attitude to the term árchōn is reflected in Ps.Clem., Hom. 3.61-64, 67, where Zacchaeus refuses to accept the title but Peter commands the congregation to treat him as such notwithstanding. A. Ehrhardt, The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries (1953), p. 120, comments, "There seems to have been a deep-rooted objection to the use of the title árchōn in the early Church." Cf. H. Lietzmann, "Zur altchristlichen Verfassungsgeschichte", Kleine Schriften I, ed. K. Aland (1958), p. 175.

¹¹ Lécuyer, "Episcopat et presbytérat dans les écrits d'Hippolyte", Rech.Sc.Rel. 41 (1953), pp. 36-40; cf. H. Elfers (n. 4), pp. 14f.

Other titles. The verb poimainein is used in 3.4 as a general description of the bishop's pastoral-episcopal ministry, but Ap. Tr. nowhere employs poimén as a terminus technicus for the bishop. Since Hippolytus gave no emphasis to pastoral concepts or terminology, and nowhere clarifies his understanding of the implications of the verb in the episcopal ordination prayer, conclusions drawn from this one instance are not likely to represent more than tenuous hypotheses.¹²

No other titles are used of the bishop in Ap. Tr.; he is always referred to as either epískopos, archiereús, or proistámenos. This is especially significant in contrast to the proliferation of honorific episcopal titles which characterized the third-century literature and was especially prominent in Didasc., the Syrian Church Order nearly contemporary with Ap. Tr.¹³ This was due partly to Hippolytus' fidelity to second-century Roman traditions, but also to his personal concept of episcopacy and clergy. His restraint in the employment of theologically freighted descriptive titles, as well as the particular titles which he consistently

12 Lécuyer (n. 11), p. 38, correlates poimainein with pneuma hēgemonikón and concludes that "l'on ne saurait de façon plus apte designer la fonction du chef"; but there is no evidence that Hippolytus understood the term to imply such an emphasis or a title equivalent to árchōn. H. Elfers, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts", in Abhandlung über Theologie und Kirche (K. Adam Festschrift) 1952, pp. 202f, interprets the poimainein as an Oberhirtenamt but neither Ap. Tr. nor the earlier Fathers used the title archipoímén to designate the bishop (cf. I Pet. 5.4, Heb. 13.20).

13 Tert.: "duces", De fuga 11; "pastor", De corona 1, De fuga 11, De pud. 13 (cf. ch. 2, n. 62); "praesides", De fuga 11, De corona 1; "praepositi", De fuga 11, De monog. 12; vs. Agripinus (or Callistus?), "Pontifex maximus", "episcopus episcoporum", "bonus pastor", "benedictus papa", and "benignissimus Dei interpres", De pud. 1ff, 18f, 21. Origen: "árchōn", ("princeps"), Hom. Num. 11.4, Comm. Rom. 2.2, Hom. Is. 6.1 (but Comm. Mt. 11.9); "dux et doctor" (of Christian gnostic), Comm. Rom. 2.11; "pastor", Comm. Rom. 1.2. Didasc.: "vos igitur populo vestro estis sacerdotes et prophetae et principes et duces et reges et mediatores Dei ac fidelum eius", Didasc. 2.25.7; "caput" ("kephale"). Didasc. 2.14.12; "hic est magister et post Deum per aquam regenerans pater vester; (hic princeps et dux vester), hic est rex vester potens; hic loco Dei regnans sicuti Deus honoretur a vobis, quoniam episcopus in typum Dei praesidet vobis", Didasc. 2.26.4.

employed, reveal his special interest in the high-priestly functions and office of the bishop and his lack of basic concern for the hierarchical prerogatives, the unilateral authority, or the exalted personal majesty of the bishop qua office-holder.

Explicit Assertions of Episcopal Authority

Patristic literature abounds in passages which insist upon due respect for, and obedience to, the bishop; which seek to define with juristic precision the exact areas of authority pertaining to the various ordines within the structure of the Church, especially when controversy or hierarchical rivalries have threatened to cause disorder; or which, because of underlying theological-ecclesiological principles, have sought to exalt (or undermine) the authority of a given clerical order.¹⁴ We must now analyze the passages of this nature which can be found in Ap. Tr.

Ap. Tr. 4.1 provides that all the people, after the consecration of the bishop, shall "offer him the kiss of peace, saluting him, for he has been made worthy (of this)". The unique dignity of the bishop is clearly seen in the mode of episcopal election and ordination, in the difference between the episcopal and presbyteral ordination prayers, and in the fact that the confessor possesses the time of the presbyterate but not that of the episcopal office. Ap. Tr. 9.7f insists that the bishop alone may ordain; the presbyter has no exousia to give klēros, though he seals (sphragizein) the ordination of his co-presbyters by laying hands with the bishop. Apart from this one passage, Ap. Tr. nowhere speaks expressly of the subordination of the presbyters to the bishop. In contrast, Ap. Tr. 9 explicitly emphasizes the corporate solidarity of the bishop and the presbyters.

While the presbyter is the sýmboulos of the bishop (Ap. Tr. 9.3), the deacon is appointed for the service (hyperésia, 9.2) of the bishop and must carry out orders "sub potestate episcopi" (9.4). Ap. Tr. 30 corroborates this subordination: "Diaconus uero unusquisque cum subdiaconibus ad episcopum obseruent (proskarterein)", especially in reporting to him the needs of the people. Apparently because of this subservience to the bishop,

¹⁴ See J. V. Bartlett, Church-Life and Church-Order During the First Four Centuries (1943), pp. 37-52. In this literature of hierarchical controversy the Syrian Didascalia is especially significant: see 2.32.2f (cf. 2.17.3), 2.11.1f (cf. 2.12.1, 2.18.2ff), 2.34.4f, 2.28.9, 2.29.1 (cf. 2.14.2). See also Ap.Ch.Or. 13.

and because the deacons did not share in the priesthood of the presbyterate, their clerical status was not beyond doubt. Ap. Tr. 9.3, 6 (cf. 25.1) seems to exclude the deacons from the clergy, but Ap. Tr. 11.5 (cf. 26.11f) and Ref. 9.12.22 consider them as klēroi rather than laikoi.

It is evident that none of the above passages represents a polemic on behalf of episcopal authority or a devout effort to magnify his office. On the contrary, the tendency of the Prologue and Epilogue to apply an independent critical norm over against the proistāmenoi is quite foreign to the ardent Syrian Episcopalianism of Ignatius and Didasc. as well as to the developing third-century concepts of the episcopacy as crystallized especially in Cyprian.¹⁵

The Functions of the Bishop

Since the titles of the bishop (except for archiereús) provide no significant commentary on the authority of the bishop in Ap. Tr., and since the explicit discussion of his primacy is neither the subject of any major passage nor a prominent concern in Ap. Tr., we must turn to an analysis of the actual role of the bishop in the liturgical and practical life of the congregation in order to take the measure of his position and stature in the Roman Church at the turn of the century.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that the episcopal consecration prayer makes specific reference to four high-priestly functions of the bishop, those of offering the eucharist, forgiving sins (absolution), giving lots (ordination), and loosing bonds (exorcism). The remaining chapters of Ap. Tr. reveal additional aspects of the episcopal ministry, some of which are also very significant.

The Eucharist.¹⁶ The central importance of the bishop's eucharistic ministry in Ap. Tr. is implied in the emphatic archieratein of the episcopal ordination prayer. It is also seen in

15 Neither the honorific titles nor the explicit claims to episcopal primacy in Ap. Tr. support the assumption of Elfers (n. 7), p. 19, "Nun will aber Hippolyt gerade die episkopale Führerstellung sichern", or (n. 19, p. 158) that Ap. Tr. "bewusst die apostolischen Führerstellung des Bischofs vor allen anderen Ämtern in der Gemeinde herausheben will".

16 Elfers (n. 4), pp. 194-304, and O. Casel, "Die Kirchenordnung Hippolys von Rom", Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft 2 (1952), pp. 115-130. On the problem of the "Epiklesis" see Botte, "L'epiclése de l'Anaphora d'Hippolyt", Rech. Th. Anc. Med. 14 (1947), pp. 249-251, and C. C. Richardson, ibid. 15 (1948), pp.

the fact that Ap. Tr. returns four times to a description of eucharistic procedures. Ap. Tr. 4 describes the Ordination Eucharist (the "Bishop's Mass" of later terminology), Ap. Tr. 23 discusses the Baptismal Eucharist (or "Paschal Mass"), and Ap. Tr. 24 gives regulations for the Sunday Eucharist (or "Stational Mass"). In addition, the rather baffling eucharistic prescriptions of Ap. Tr. 32 seem to refer to a daily "House Eucharist".

There can be no question that the bishop is the normal celebrant of the Eucharist according to Ap. Tr. The deacons bring the prosphora to the bishop (4.2, 23.1), who lays his hand upon the offered elements (4.2) and pronounces the eucharistic dialogue (4.3):

Bishop: Dominus vobiscum.
 People: et cum spiritu tuo.
 Bishop: Susum (sic) corda.
 People: Habemus ad dominum.
 Bishop: Gratias agamus domino.
 People: Dignum et iustum est.¹⁷

The bishop then proceeds to "eucharistize (eucharistein) first the bread into the representation (which the Greek calls the antitype) of the Flesh of Christ; and the cup mixed with wine for the anti-type (which the Greek calls the likeness) of the Blood which was shed for all who believed in Him".¹⁸ This he did by pronouncing the eucharistic prayer (4.2, 23.1).

Ap. Tr. 23.5 describes the Fraction for the Baptismal Communion: "and when he (the bishop) breaks the Bread in distributing to each a fragment (klásma) he shall say: The Bread of Heaven in Christ Jesus", to which the recipient responds with "Amen". Ap. Tr. 24.1 states that the bishop should also, if possible, distribute the bread personally to all the communicants at the Sunday Eucharist.

357-359; vs. G. Dix, The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of Saint Hippolytus of Rome (1937), pp. 75-79, and E. C. Ratcliff, "Sanctus and Pattern of the Early Anaphora", J. Eccl. Hist. 1 (1950), pp. 29-36.

17 Ap. Tr. 26, 19ff, if genuine, shows that the same dialogue was pronounced by the bishop at the Service of Lamps, with the exception of the Sursum Corda, which is only for the oblation (26.23). An interpolation in Eth. 40a (Horner, p. 169) adds that the bishop alone may pronounce the Sursum Corda.

18 The parenthetic explanations were added by Lat. The originality of the passage is confirmed by Eg. Ch. Or., Test. Dom., and prob. Cans. Hipp.

While Ap. Tr. assumes that the bishop is the normal celebrant of the eucharist, it does not state categorically that only the bishop may perform these functions or expressly forbid the observance of Holy Communion in the absence of the bishop. It assumes that the eucharistic ministry is the proper function of "God's ordained high priests" (9.11, cf. 3.4), by the same "high priestly Spirit" in whom the bishop has exousia to absolve, ordain, and exorcise;¹⁹ but it does not seek to relate the episcopal archiereatein (3.4) to the hieratein of the eucharistic prayer (4.11) and the sacerdotium of the presbyterate (9.2). Since Ap. Tr. nowhere discusses the ecclesiological or sacramental principles which determine the right to celebrate the eucharist, these can be derived from it only by inference.

H. Elfers finds in Ap. Tr. a charismatic basis for the unique eucharistic prerogative of the bishop, since he alone possesses the apostolic-episcopal Amtscharisma.²⁰ Hence the Spirit "durch das Gebet des mit dem Geiste gesalbten Hauptes der Gemeinde Brot und Wein zu den Antitypen des Christus passus werden lässt" (p. 231) through "das sakramentale, vom Geist getragene eucharistein des Bischofs" (p. 232). He bases this argument upon (1) the Amtsgeist imparted in the ordination of the bishop, (2) the description (4.1, 11, cf. 4.3) of the bishop as "dignus", (3) the "cum spiritu tuo" of the eucharistic dialogue, and (4) the "Epiklesis of the Spirit" in the eucharistic prayer (4.12).²¹

On the eucharistic dialogue Elfers comments as follows: "Da hier unter spiritus nur das bischöfliche Charisma verstanden werden kann, d. h. der in der Ordination empfangene spezielle Geist des apostolischen Amtes, der nach Lat. (of Ap. Tr. 3.3) jener Führergeist ist, den Christus selbst vom Vater erhielt und den er seinen Aposteln verlieh, lautet der Gegenwunsch der

19 That the "τὸ pneūmati τὸ archieratikό" of 3.5 is grammatically related to the following clauses rather than to the Eucharistic clauses of 3.4 is clear from the καὶ which precedes it in Epit. 4.4. Thus in the case of the Eucharist Hippolytus makes no explicit reference to the charismatic basis of this priestly exousia.

²⁰ Elfers (n. 4), pp. 198-208, 230-232.

21 On the Amtsgeist see the preceding chapter; on the meaning of "worthy", see under "Teaching". It should be recalled here that the "*pneuma hegemonikón*" seems to have been the common endowment of the presbyters and the bishop.

Gemeinde: Christus der Herr sei mit deinem Amtscharisma."²²

This interpretation of the eucharistic dialogue cannot be lightly dismissed, even if the "pneūma hēgemonikōn" be differently interpreted. There is undoubtedly some significance in the fact that in Ap. Tr. these solemn liturgical phrases are never recited by anyone other than the bishop (cf. 22.3 at confirmation, 25.19ff at the Lucernarium; cf. Eth. 40a). W. C. van Unnik has shown that this primitive Christian dialogue refers to "the dynamic activity of God's Spirit given to particular chosen individuals or the people of God, enabling them to do a work of God..."²³ The minister assures the people of the Spirit's presence in them as God's People, and "they in turn assure him of the same divine assistance with his spirit, he having a special charisma, and standing in need of that assistance because of his prophetic work".²⁴

It is of course evident that the charismatic manifestation of the divine presence at the Church's worship will be vitally related to the chárisma of the officiant. But this does not prove that the early Church (or Hippolytus) understood the dialogue to mean that the power to celebrate the Eucharist depended upon an apostolic-episcopal Amtsgeist or that the "spiritus tuus" was identical with this official chárisma. Van Unnik, in the passage cited above, clarifies the meaning of spiritus by an illuminating comparison with Herm., Mand. 11.9ff, where the Spirit of God seems to be almost identified with, and yet contrasted to, the spirit of the Christian and especially the prophet. Here the spirit refers to the inner "leading forces" of the religious and ethical life, the varied "tempers" (e.g., makrothymia and oxycholia, Mand. 5.1.3) which either facilitate or frustrate the free and powerful working of the Spirit.²⁵

It is doubtful that a convincing explanation has yet been given for the change from "vobiscum" to "cum spiritu tuo" in the liturgical dialogue of the early Church. "Cum spiritu vestro" is also

²² Elfers (n. 4), p. 198. Elfers sees in this response an assertion, over against Montanism, that "der Geist und der Kyrios gehören zusammen".

²³ W. C. v. Unnik, "Dominus Vobiscum", in New Testament Essays, T. W. Manson Memorial, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (1959), p. 293. V. Unnik approaches the problem by an analysis of the phrase "to be with" in this context.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 292f.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 292f, 297. Cf. Herm., Mand. 3.1-4, 5.1.2-6, 5.2.1, 9.11, 10.1.2, 10.2.1-3.4, 11.2-21.

used in the New Testament, apparently in reference to the laity where the thought of an Amtsgeist would be impossible.²⁶ Furthermore, the pun on pneuma in Ap. Tr. 36.11 and 37.2 indicates that Hippolytus could also use spiritus to refer generally to the charismatic presence of the Spirit in the spirit of all baptized Christians. This corresponds to Hippolytus' tendency to associate the work of the Holy Spirit with the entire Church rather than with a specific hierarchical office. Hence his doxologies constantly speak of "the Holy Spirit in the Holy Church", and in his discussion of the daily assembly he urges all to hasten "ad ecclesiam ubi floret spiritus".²⁷

Further problems arise when the episcopal spiritus is interpreted as the efficient (or instrumental) cause of the transforming sacramental efficacy of the bishop's eucharistic prayer. Ap. Tr. 23.1, if Lat. has preserved the genuine sense of the original,²⁸ seems to attribute to the bishop's eucharistein the fact that the bread and wine are the "exemplum corporis Christi" and the "antitypum sanguinis", but it gives no hint of any Amtsgeist which qualifies the bishop to accomplish this. Similarly, even if Ap. Tr. 4.12 be accepted as textually authentic and as a true Epiklesis, it is equally impossible to find there any hint of an episcopal Amtsgeist whose sacramental efficacy accomplishes a transubstantiation of the elements.²⁹ The Holy Spirit is rather besought

26 Gal. 6.18, Phil. 4.23, Phlm. 25. V. Unnik, ibid., p. 292, takes these passages to mean that "you are the Christians, i.e. men and women endowed with the Spirit".

27 Doxologies: 4.13, 6.4, 8.5, (9.12), 21.17, 22.1, 23.10; daily assembly, 31.2, 35.3; on 9.4, 6, see above, Ch. II.

28 Test. Dom., Cans. Hipp., and Sa. do not suggest a causal connection between the Eucharistic prayer and the sacramental quality of the elements (Horner, p. 319; Till-Leipoldt, p. 23). Eth. and Ar. suggest, more explicitly than Lat., that the sacramental quality of the elements is the result of the bishop's prayer and omit the "exemplum" and "antitypum" (Horner, pp. 255f; Duensing, p. 61). A convincing interpretation of the sacramental theology of Ap. Tr. 23.1 is probably impossible without a rediscovery of the original Greek text, especially the phrase underlying "gratias agat panem in exemplum". Cf. also Ap. Tr. 32.3.

29 Botte (n. 16), pp. 241-251 speaks for the best historical scholarship today when he concludes that the passage is authentic and is indeed an Epiklesis, but not an Epiklesis of consecration. "L'Esprit-Saint intervient non pour transformer les éléments, mais pour faire profiter tous les saints qui communient des fruits de l'oblation et pour consommer l'unité de l'Eglise", p. 251.

to give spiritual benefit to those who partake and to unite them into One Body. R. H. Connolly demonstrates the close parallel of this petition to the language of Irenaeus in Adv. haer. 3.17.2.30 Such an understanding of the Eucharist also coincides with the thought of Peri toū Páscha 3, that in the eucharist "through the conmingling with the Spirit your members become members of the Body of Christ" and thus "likenesses of Christ".³¹

The interpretation of "cum spiritu tuo" in terms of an episcopal Amtsgeist does not in fact appear until the late fourth century, when both Eucharistic theology and concepts of Amtsgeist had developed well beyond the stage reflected in Ap. Tr.³² Just as in the case of the latter, however, Ap. Tr. undoubtedly represented

J. Betz, Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter I/1, (1955), pp. 337f, recognizes that 4.12 has no reference to a consecration through the descent of the Spirit but argues on the basis of 23.1 that Hippolytus believed in "eine Wandlung der Elemente" and so "auch Hippolyt die Geistepikese konsekatorisch auffaste". Aside from the textual problems of 23.1 (n. 28), however, no version of the passage attributes the transformation to an Epiklesis or explains how or why the episcopal eucharistein accomplishes its sacramental effect.

30 See above, Ch. II, n. 29; cf. also Adv. haer. 4.18.4-6, 5.2.2, 3. On the eucharistic theology of Irenaeus see A. Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, Vol. I, (1909), pp. 462-463; P. Batifoll, Etudes d'histoire et de théologie positive: Série II; l'Eucharistie, la Présence réelle et la Transubstantiation (1905), pp. 167-188; F. R. H. Hitchcock, Irenaeus of Lugdunum (1914), pp. 371-281; P. Gaechter, "Unsere Einheit mit Christus nach dem Hl. Irenäus", Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie 50 (1934), pp. 516-526.

31 The treatise is found in P. Migne, P.G. 59, pp. 375ff, among the Spuria of Chrysostom. J. Quasten, Patrología I (1961; Span. ed. of Patrology I-II, 1950-53), pp. 468f, summarizes the views of Ch. Martin and P. Nautin and concludes that this Homily, while not itself by Hippolytus, may be based upon the original Hippolytean treatise bearing the same title. The passage is quoted and discussed by Dix (n. 16), p. 78 and in The Shape of the Liturgy (1945), p. 138. More recently, R. Cantalamessa, L'Omelia "In S. Pascha" dello Pseudo-Ippolito di Roma (1967), pp. 462f, denies any derivative relation of the Homily to the writings of Hippolytus.

32 Jn. Chrysostom, In II Tim. Hom. 10.3; Theod. Mops., Catecheses 6 (Mingana, p. 91).

an important milestone on the path toward later sacramental and eucharistic doctrines.

Although Ap. Tr. clearly represents the bishop as the normal celebrant of the Eucharist, it also assigns certain significant functions in the Communion service to others, especially the presbyters.

The beginning of the Ordination Eucharist is described in Ap. Tr. 4.2 as follows: "To him let the deacons bring the oblation (prosphora) and he with all the presbyters (presbyteroi) laying his hand on the oblation shall say giving thanks (euchariston)...", after which follow the liturgical dialogue and the Eucharistic prayer. Elfers is undoubtedly correct that the right of the presbyters to co-celebrate in this way proves that the "offerimus" refers to the corporate priestly act of the presbyterate in whose name the bishop speaks.³³ The appearance of this corporate imposition of hands in the eucharistic liturgy of Ap. Tr. and in the ordination rites for bishops and presbyters seems to preserve very early Roman presbyteral traditions, which may also underlie the corporate priesthood presupposed by Ap. Tr. 9.2.³⁴

The description of the Baptismal (Paschal) Eucharist specifies that the bishop shall pronounce the eucharistic prayer and distribute the broken bread saying, "Panis caelestis in Christo Iesu". Ap. Tr. 23.7ff then states that the presbyters (aided by deacons, if needed) shall stand by holding the cups with water, milk and wine, and seems to imply that they themselves minister the cup to the communicants with a three-fold Trinitarian formula. Although it is possible that the presbyters held the cups only

³³ Elfers (n. 4), pp. 198-204; cf. B. Botte, Hippolyte de Rome: La Tradition Apostolique (1946), p. 30. Dix (n. 3), pp. 219f and (n. 31), pp. 125f, sees the presbyters as "co-consecrators" and "concelebrants" by virtue of this joint imposition. According to Colson (n. 7), pp. 302f, this concelebration proves that the presbyterate constitutes an integral sacerdotal college which extends to all the presbyters but culminates in the bishop.

³⁴ See Dix (n.31), p. 125. J. Coppens, L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes (1925), pp. 12f, cites pictorial evidence (murals from the catacombs of Domitilla and Callistus; a sarcophagus from Lucine) which he considers "sans aucun doute des représentations de la consécration eucharistique" by corporate imposition, and finds in it a recollection of the distribution of the heavenly bread (Jn. 6). The similar feature of the medieval Milanese offertory and of certain later ordination rites does not seem to have been derived from the tradition represented by Ap. Tr.

until the bishop arrived to extend them to the communicants, 35 nothing in the text itself indicates that the one "qui dat calicem" is distinct from the presbyter "qui tenet calicem".

The role of the presbyters and deacons in distributing the bread is described in Ap. Tr. 24.1f. 36 The first clause stipulates that at the Sunday Eucharist the bishop should, if possible, deliver the bread to all the faithful with his own hand (Eth., Cans. Hipp.). The deacons, as his liturgical assistants, may break the bread (Eth., cf. Test. Dom.). The following clause (24.2), if original, sought to defend the superiority of the presbyters over against the eucharistic privileges of the deacons; this is the common note in all the remnants of Ap. Tr. 24.2 (Eth., Test. Dom., Cans. Hipp.). Eth. states that the presbyter shall also break the bread, taking it from the "vessel"³⁷ held by the deacon and delivering it to the people with his hand. In the same passage Test. Dom. speaks of the "paten" or "pinax" (transl.) held by the deacon. G. Dix has explained these provisions in the light of the statement of the Liber Pontificalis that Zephyrinus permitted the concelebrating presbyters to consecrate the bread, though not on the altar with the bishop but on glass patens held for them by the deacons.³⁸ If this interpretation is correct, it would seem that Ap. Tr. 24 ascribes to the presbyters an essential Eucharistic ministry.³⁹

35 So Elfers (n. 4), p. 161. Cans. Hipp. 19.15 (Riedel, p. 213) gives a condensed version of the passage, in which the bishop delivers the cup; Sa. and Eth. indicate that the presbyter (or deacon) who holds the cup shall extend it to the communicant (Till-Leipoldt, pp. 23f; Duensing, p. 63).

36 Dix (n. 16), pp. 82f, defends the genuineness of the passage, while Elfers (n. 4), pp. 24f, accepts as original the clause that the bishop should deliver personally, but considers the rest dubious.

37 Dix (n. 16), p. 44, suggests that the reading "robe" in all mss. of Eth. probably arose from confusion between Kās (vessel) and Kāsa (to dress) in the Arabic, from which Eth. is derived.

38 Dix (n. 16), pp. 82f and (n. 31), p. 132. As late as the eighth-century Ordo Romanus Primus this custom persisted on great feasts.

39 Dix (n. 3), pp. 220f, also finds in Ap. Tr. 33 (on the daily assembly) "a further connexion of the presbyters with worship", although he admits that "no clear deductions can be drawn from it". He applies these regulations to the smaller assemblies later known as "tituli", of which we know from other sources that "for at least three quarters of a century" (Dix) eucharistic cele-

One further passage on the Eucharist, Ap. Tr. 32, gives certain precautions for what was evidently a private daily "House Eucharist".⁴⁰ It was presumably observed with the "reserved bread" from the bishop's Sunday Eucharist, although Ap. Tr. gives no suggestion of this detail. It states, however, that the bread thus partaken was the Body of Christ (32.2) and hence gave supernatural protection and deserved scrupulous respect and caution. The Cup of this daily observance was equally sacrosanct, "for having blessed the cup in the Name of God thou didst receive it as the antitype of the Blood of Christ" (32.3). Both grammatically and historically, this clause seems to refer to a blessing pronounced by the lay believer. Nothing indicates that the subject or situation presupposed by 32.3 are different from those of 32.1f, *viz.* the layman in his private morning participation.⁴⁰ The present active participle (benedicens) shows that the person blessing the cup was the same one who received it, which fits the situation of the layman in his home. Historically, there is no evidence that the chalice was ever reserved as the bread was. On the contrary, according to Dix, the normal Roman method for such private communion was to pronounce the Lord's prayer over the reserved consecrated bread and an unconsecrated chalice. The

brations had been held by the presbyters with fermentum sent from bread that had been "eucharistized" by the bishop. See. G. La Piana, "The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century", Harv. The. Rev., Vol. 18, (1925), pp. 213-218; B. H. Streeter, The Primitive Church (1929), pp. 224-227; C. Chavasse, "Liturgie Papale et Liturgies Presbytérales, leurs Zones d'exercice", in Mélanges en l'honneur de M. Michel Andrieu (1956), pp. 103-112. Colson (n. 7), pp. 331-337, recognizes that this custom may well date from the mid-second century and sees in it "une co-célébration à distance".

⁴⁰ Cf. Dix (n. 16), pp. 58f. On the originality of the passage, which appears (at least partially) in all versions except Ap. Cons.-Epit., and its reference to a "house Eucharist", see Dix (n. 16), pp. xlvi, 84f; Elfers (n. 4), pp. 30-36, and R. H. Connolly, The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents (1916), pp. 77-83. Cf. Jerome, Ep. 71.6, "whether one ought to receive it (the Eucharist) daily, observances which the Roman Church and Spain recommend, has been treated of by Hippolytus"; Dix, p. xlvi, sees here a reference to Ap. Tr. 32 and Hipp., Comm. Dan. 4.20.

⁴¹ Vs. Connolly (n. 40), p. 80.

procedure may have included the immissio of the reserved bread in the chalice, but of this Ap. Tr. 32.3f says nothing.⁴²

It is clear that Ap. Tr. 32 ascribes to this private observance the full sacramental value of a genuine eucharistic celebration. Especially striking is the way 32.3, in language similar to that used in 23.1 of the episcopal eucharistein, suggests that through the private prayer of the layman the cup has become the antitype of the Blood of Christ.⁴³ Even if the intinction of the reserved sacrament is presupposed, this article associates the sacramental quality of the cup and its claim to due reverence not with such a link to an episcopal consecration but with the private blessing of the believing layman (32.1, 2).

A comprehensive survey of the evidence from Ap. Tr. leads to the conclusion that while the bishop was the normal officiant for the eucharist, he performed this supreme liturgical act of the Church's life in the fullest solidarity with the congregation and especially with the presbyters. It is impossible to find in Ap. Tr. the concept that the bishop alone may celebrate the Eucharist because he alone possesses the Apostolic charisma which makes his eucharistic prayer sacramentally effective.

The Agape. By the time of Hippolytus the fellowship meal, or agape, was distinguished from the public eucharistic observance, but it continued to possess a marked liturgical and even quasi-eucharistic character.⁴⁴ It is called a "deipnon tou kyrion" (26.5, 11; cf. Cans. Hipp. 32, "kyriakon") and a "klasis tou arton" (26.1, 2); the layman offers the meal (proseneken, 26.1) and gives thanks (eucharistein, 26.3 Sa., cf. 26.13) over the cup, while the bishop blesses the bread (eulogein; 26.2, llf.).⁴⁵ In one

42 Dix (n. 16), pp. 84f. Cf. J. H. Hanssens, La Liturgie d'Hippolyte (1959), pp. 165f.

43 On the partially synonymous correlation of gratias agere (eucharistein) and benedicere (eulogein), along with sanctificare (hagiázo) and offerre (prosphérein), see Elfers (n. 4), pp. 230-236, 253-260. Cf. Justin, Apol. I, 65, 67, where after the eulogein of the leader the gifts are called ta eucharistéthenta.

44 On the meaning and development of the agape see B. Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier (1951), pp. 66-100, esp. pp. 80-89 and H. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl (1926), pp. 199-210 and passim.

45 Cf. also Cans. Hipp. 32.166: the "eucharistia quae est in initio missae" belongs to the poor.

form of the agape, the Lucernarium, the eucharistic dialogue was included (26.19-22); but without the Sursum Corda, which was to be said only at the oblation (26.23). In 26.2 it is distinctly stated that the eulogía of the agape "is not the eucharistía as is the Body of the Lord".

Ap. Tr. describes three types of agape: the fellowship meal blessed by the bishop and shared by a group of the faithful (26.1-17), the evening Lucernarium (26.18-31), and the supper of the widows (27.1f).

The fellowship meal was begun by the bishop's breaking and blessing a loaf of bread, tasting of it himself and distributing to each a fragment of this eulogía (26.1f). Then each of the faithful gave thanks (eucharistein, Sa. 26.3) over a cup of wine, remembering also to pray for the sponsor of the agape (26.6).⁴⁶ The blessed bread was also given to the catechumens, but only after it was exorcised (26.4, 11). Ap. Tr. 26.4 seems to mean that each catechumen gave thanks over his own cup.

During the meal the guests were expected to listen while the bishop exhorted them and answered questions; during the intervals of silence each of the believers should offer praise quietly (26.10). After the supper, the deacons took portions to the sick and the poor (26.14-17). Those negligent in delivering these portions promptly had to add to them from their own supply.

The same procedure is to be followed for a supper at which the bishop is not present (26.11). A presbyter or deacon may bless the bread, and each should be careful to receive the eulógion only from the hand of the clergyman who has blessed it (cf. 26.2, of the bishop).⁴⁷ The presbyter or deacon could also exorcise the eulógion for the catechumens. A layman, however, cannot make the eulógion (26.12), although the laity may meet without the clergy for an orderly fellowship supper (26.12), and may give thanks and thus eat in the Name of the Lord" (26.13).

The Lucernarium⁴⁸ was a more solemnly liturgical fellowship

⁴⁶ For Jewish parallels to the individual prayer over the cup and to other aspects of the agape in Ap. Tr. see Lietzmann, (n. 44), pp. 209f.

⁴⁷ Cans. Hipp. 34 adds that the presbyter should be respected by the laity, "weil er in Gott höher steht als sie".

⁴⁸ Ap. Tr. 26.14-32 (portions for the sick; Lucernarium) survives integrally only in Eth., but Test. Dom., Cans. Hipp., and perhaps Ar. confirm various passages from Eth. Dix (n. 16), pp. 83f, summarizes the evidence for and against the genuineness of the passage; cf. Connolly (n. 40), pp. 111-116, and Botte (n. 33), p. 60.

meal held in the evening. Ap. Tr. 26.18 specifies that the bishop must be present for this service. He pronounces the liturgical dialogue (except for the Sursum Corda) and gives thanks (eucha-
ristein, 26.19, 24) for the gift of light, corruptible and incorruptible. After the supper, according to Eth., the children and virgins sang psalms and prayed. The deacons, holding "the mixed cup of the oblation", recited psalms. Finally, after the bishop has "offered the cup as is proper for the cup", he recites the psalm "Hallelujah", in which the people join antiphonally. After this, if the strange direction of 26.32 (Eth.) is correct, the bishop shall "give thanks over the cup, and give of the fragments to all the faithful". Despite the confusion of textual variants, it seems clear that this passage represents a liturgical service in which the agape and the eucharist were still celebrated together.

Ap. Tr. 27 says nothing of any role of the bishop in a supper given for the widows. Charitable rather than liturgical motives seem to have been predominant in this form of the fellowship meal.

Ordination. Perhaps the most characteristic prerogative of the bishop in Ap. Tr. is that of ordaining the clergy of the Church. The combined witness of Lat., Epit. and Eth. makes it very probable that the original Greek of the episcopal ordination prayer besought for the new bishop "*exousia... didónai klērous kata to próstagma sou*".⁴⁹ F. E. Brightman has shown that klēros was used, especially in Irenaeus and Hippolytus, to indicate the episcopal office or clerical order in general and that "didónai klērous" would seem to be the precise equivalent of 'to confer orders'".⁵⁰ Even in the corporate ordination of presbyters, according to Ap. Tr. 9.7, it is only the bishop who can "give holy order" (didónai klērous, Sa.). No theological reason is given why only the bishop may exercise this function. The emphasis upon the charismatic unity of the episcopacy and the presbyterate, especially if Turner's hypothesis is valid, indicates that the reasons involved were concerned with potestates rather than with charisma.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See esp. B. Botte, "Le texte de la tradition apostolique", Rech. Th. Anc. Med. 22 (1955), pp. 161-172.

⁵⁰ Brightman (n. 8), pp. 381f.

⁵¹ See above, Chap. II, and K. Müller, Kirchengeschichte I/1 (3rd. ed., with H. v. Campenhausen, 1941), p. 275. H. Elfers (n. 12), p. 203, attributes the exclusive episcopal power to ordain to the supposition that only the bishop can impart the Charisma; Dix (n. 3), p. 220, argues that only the bishop had the "creative" power to confirm and ordain as "the special organ of the 'spirit'". Colson (n. 7), pp. 339-341 argues that in the case

The exclusive prerogative of the bishop was evident in the rite of episcopal ordination prescribed by Ap. Tr. According to all but one of the Hippolytean Orders only bishops could participate in the first, corporate imposition of hands (Ap. Tr. 2.3) and only a bishop could pronounce the solemn ordination prayer (2.5).

Against these, Cans. Hipp. 2 omits the corporate episcopal imposition of hands and states that "one of the bishops and presbyters shall be chosen to lay hands upon him and pray". In view of the concordant textual witness of all the other documents, however, and of the consistently secondary character of Cans. Hipp., it is more reasonable to understand this provision as an adaptation to Alexandrian presbyteral traditions rather than an original feature of the Roman praxis portrayed by Ap. Tr.⁵²

Ap. Tr. simply assumes that only bishops will participate in episcopal ordination, rather than insist that this must be so. It does not require that a specified number of bishops be present, but refers only to "such bishops as may attend" (2.2). There is no theological justification similar to the lengthy argument passage on the ordination of deacons. Perhaps the form of the rite signified that the ministry of the bishop pertained not only to the local congregation but to the Church Universal.⁵³ Hence the corporate episcopate acted as an organic unity both in laying hands together upon the ordinand and in selecting one of their number who as their spokesman should pronounce the ordination prayer. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the local presbyterate and congregation, standing by silently and "orantes in corde propter descensionem spiritus", also performed a vital role in the act of episcopal ordination.

It is clear from Ap. Tr. 9 that the bishop alone ordained the deacons, without any participation by the presbyters. This, as we have seen, was due to his direct and personal subordination to the bishop. The emphasis is not that only the bishop has the privilege of ordaining the deacon, or that the presbyters are unworthy of the privilege of "sealing" deacons as they do their co-presbyters, but rather that the deacons do not share the privilege of corporate ordination like that of bishops and presbyters.

In some respects the ordination of the deacon must have been

of episcopal ordination only bishops could participate because only they possessed the apostolic succession.

⁵² On the Alexandrian presbyteral traditions see esp. W. Telfer, "Episcopal Ordination in Egypt", J. Eccl. Hist. 3 (1952), pp. 1-13, and Ehrhardt (n. 10), pp. 134ff, 148-157.

⁵³ Hamel (n. 5), p. 175.

typical of that of the minor orders. According to Ap. Tr. 12 the bishop alone installs the reader by handing him the book. The Ethiopic of 9.8 also states that the bishop alone shall install the reader and sub-deacon, but shall not lay hands upon them. (Some manuscripts, however, reveal later practice by omitting the "not".) The minor orders were similar to the deacons in that they had no share in the presbyteral collegium but were apparently directly responsible to the bishop.

The ordination of presbyters, because of their special dignity and the corporate character of their priesthood, was fundamentally different from that of deacons and the ordines minores. The bishop in this case lays his hand upon the head of the ordinand, "the presbyters also touching him". Since this "contingere" is also described in 9.8 as a "consignare" (Sa., sphragizein), some have understood it as the sign of the cross.⁵⁴ The prefix of "contingentibus", however, indicates that this "touching" was the joint act of the presbyters with the bishop, and Ap. Tr. 9.6 states that "super praesbyterum etiam praesbyteri superinponant manus". Since the whole discussion in Ap. Tr. 9 concerns the problem of the imposition of hands upon presbyters and deacons, the very explicit language of 9.6 can only be taken to mean that the presbyters joined in a corporate imposition of hands upon the presbyteral ordinand.

Ap. Tr. 9 explains the theological basis for this collegiate imposition of hands upon presbyters. They are ordained in this way because they share a corporate priesthood (9.2) and are fellow-counsellors (9.3) charismatically endowed with a "communis et similis spiritus" (9.4, 6) for leadership in the Church. This rite seems to be related to the presbyteral concelebration of the Eucharist by imposition of hands upon the elements, as well as to the first imposition of hands in episcopal ordination. Dix rightly comments that this co-imposition of hands in presbyteral ordination is "a natural right of the presbyter since by derivation the ruling presbyterate was a corporate body".⁵⁵

The share of the presbyters in presbyteral ordination is more explicitly and more carefully restricted than is their corresponding function in eucharistic consecration. Although the presbyters lay hands upon their colleagues, they do not ordain (kathistámai, Sa.) a man to be a klērikós but rather seal the ordaining act of

⁵⁴ So Coppens (n. 34), pp. 9-11, 17; cf. this use of consignare (sphragizein) in Ap. Tr. 20.8, 22.3, 36.11, 37.1, 4.

⁵⁵ Dix (n. 16), p. lxxx; cf. Colson (n. 7), pp. 337f.

the bishop (Ap. Tr. 9.8).⁵⁶ As to ordination, "the presbyter has the authority only for this one thing, to receive. But he has no authority to give" (Ap. Tr. 9.7). The Verona Latin does not define what the presbyter receives but cannot give, and at first sight the implied object might seem to be the "communem et similem cleri spiritum" of 9.6. The text of Sa., however, supplies the object "holy orders" after the verb "to give" and preserves the original Greek noun, klēros. This fits both the klērikoś of 9.8 and the didōnai klērous of 3.5. The clause then states that the presbyter (in contrast to the deacon) receives and exercises all the exousiai of presbyteral-clerical status but (in contrast to the bishop) he does not have the episcopal "exousia didōnai klērous" by which to impart this status to others.

The historical background of presbyteral ordination, the argument passage in Ap. Tr. 9, and the parallel to eucharistic consecration suggest that the co-imposition of hands by the presbyters constituted a genuine co-ordination of their colleague.⁵⁷ The presbyters could not ordain without the bishop; yet the bishop did not in fact ordain presbyters without the co-participation of his sympresbyteroi.⁵⁸

Ap. Tr. also records one other instance which represents a restriction of the bishop's right to ordain. In the case of the confessor, according to 10.1, "hands shall not be laid on him for the diaconate or the presbyter's office". Here the bishop and presbyterate are forbidden to lay hands upon the confessor, because his confession represents a spontaneous and charismatic claim to office without ecclesiastical institution.⁵⁹

We thus find four patterns of ordination in Ap. Tr. Bishops are ordained by the episcopacy in corporate unity. Presbyters are ordained by the local bishop in organic conjunction with the

⁵⁶ Ap. Cons. 8.28.2, in fourth-century terminology, distinguishes the "ordaining" of the bishop from the "laying on of hands" by the presbyter. Cf. C.H. Turner, "Cheirotonia, cheirothesia, epithesis cheirón", J.T.S. 24 (1923), pp. 496-504.

⁵⁷ Colson (n. 7), p. 337, describes this as "une 'co-consecration', une 'co-ordination' analogue à la 'co-célébration antique' de l'eucharistie", but considers this possible only because presbyteral ordination did not, in his opinion, involve Apostolic Succession (pp. 339-341). Lécuyer (n. 11), p. 47, sees it rather as "un véritable rite liturgique de bénédiction"; but cf. Botte (n. 33), p. 40.

⁵⁸ Colson (n. 7), p. 307.

⁵⁹ See above, Ch. II.

presbyterate. Deacons and the minor orders, because they are immediately subservient to the bishop, are ordained by him alone. And confessors, who have demonstrated the power of the Spirit in their suffering, are charismatically ordained to the presbyterate without any imposition of hands.

Baptism. The episcopal ordination prayer makes no reference to the functions of the bishop in baptism, even though certain other patristic evidences indicate that these were also considered priestly.⁶⁰ Ap. Tr. 16-24, however, gives a very detailed description of the procedure for approving the baptismal candidates, instructing them, and then performing their baptism. The preliminary stages were left in the hands of the teachers, who could be either clergymen or laity (16.1, 19.1). According to a reading from Test. Dom., which G. Dix considers genuine for Ap. Tr. 16.1, the teachers instructed the candidates in private homes or classrooms.⁶¹ The teachers were responsible to accept or reject candidates for the catechumenate on the basis of elaborately defined rules concerning their profession, social and marital status, and religious and moral life. At the end of the three years of instruction the teachers seem to have approved the catechumens whom they considered worthy of baptism (17. 1ff, 20.1f). During the course of instruction the teachers are to lay hands upon the catechumens and exorcise them (19.1, 20.3), but on the Saturday before baptism each catechumen must be exorcised personally by the bishop "that he may be certain that he is purified" (20.3, 8). As the catechumen kneels to pray, the bishop lays his hands upon him, breathes upon his face, seals his forehead, ears and nose, and raises him up.

At the time of the baptism the bishop gives thanks (eucharistēin) over the Oil of Thanksgiving (eucharistia) and the Oil of Exorcism (exorkismós, 21.6f). A presbyter then administers the Renunciation, the anointing with the exorcistic oil while he bids all spirits depart from the candidate, and the Adherence (21.9-10). Another presbyter gives the three-fold confession of faith with the accompanying trine immersion and anoints him with the Eucharistic oil (21.11-20). Thereupon the bishop prays, with imposition of hands, that God will make the newly-baptized worthy to be filled with the Holy Spirit and give him grace to serve God faithfully. He then pours the consecrated oil (apparently the euchar-

⁶⁰ This is suggested, for example, by the statement of Tertullian that the right of baptizing pertains properly to the "summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus" and to presbyters and deacons only with his approval.

⁶¹ Dix (n. 16), pp. 23, 81f.

istic oil of 21.6) upon his hand, which he proceeds to lay upon the head of the candidate (22.2) in the Name of the Trinity. He concludes by sealing the forehead, giving the kiss of peace, and pronouncing the "Dominus vobiscum", to which the candidate replies, "Et cum spiritu tuo".

The bishop participates in the baptismal rite at three decisive points: the exorcism prior to the day of baptism, the consecration of the oils, and the final imposition of hands with anointing. No explicit reasons are stated why precisely these functions should pertain to the bishop, while the actual immersing of the candidate should be granted without explanation to the presbyter. The emphasis seems to lie upon the special power of the bishop as supreme exorcist, whose solemn prayer makes certain the purity of the candidate (19.3, 8, 22.5, cf. 18.3).

Exorcism. The emphasis on exorcism evident in the treatment of baptism is characteristic of Ap. Tr. as a whole. The Eucharistic prayer states that Christ suffered "that he might... rend the bonds of the devil and tread down hell" (4.8). This suggests that the phrase "to loose every bond" in the ordination prayer (3.5) refers to exorcism. The position of this phrase in 3.5, following "*aphié̄nai hamartías*" (remission of sins) but separated from it by "*didónai klé̄rous*", shows that it does not refer to absolution. An identical clause occurs in the ordination prayer of Damasc. Doc. 13.7-12.⁶² These and similar passages which speak of "loosing bonds" rather than of "binding and loosing" seem to be based on Isa. 58.6, perhaps also influenced by the "*sýndesmon adikfás*" of Simon Magus (Acts 8.23).⁶³

⁶² See. W. Nauck, "Probleme des frühchristlichen Amtsverständnisses", Z.N.W. 48 (1957), p. 207. In contrast, the ordination prayer in Ps. Clem., Hom. 3.72.1-4 speaks of "authority to loose what must be loosed and to bind what must be bound".

⁶³ Ibid., p. 207. Isa. 58.6 is also quoted in Barn. 3.3-5 and Didasc. 2.53.6. Cans. Hipp. 3 (Riedel, p. 202) adapts the phrase to "gib ihm Macht, alle sündigen Bande der Satane zu lösen und die Kranken zu heilen". Hamel (n. 5), pp. 170f, and Dix (n. 3), p. 200, explain Ap. Tr. 3.5c as power to exorcise. There is no evidence in Ap. Tr. that the "loosing all bonds" of 3.5 should be understood in the original Rabbinic sense of the quite different phrase, "loosing and binding", as the power to give binding decrees and prohibitions, nor in the historically subsequent sense of absolution.

Great attention is paid to evil spirits in Ap.Tr. Catechumens are forbidden to share the kiss of peace with the saints, because the kiss of a catechumen is not yet pure (18.3, 22.5), and an energumen must be cleansed of his evil spirit before he may hear the Word (16.8). The "blessed bread" (eulogia) of the Agape must be exorcised before being given to the catechumens (26.4, 11), and even the faithful should purify themselves by prayer before eating of the meal (26.3, Eg.Ch.Or.). Oil to be used in exorcism must itself be exorcised (21.7), just as the eucharistic oil seemed somehow to bear within itself the blessing which had been pronounced upon it (21.6). The wine of the private morning Eucharist must not be spilled, lest an alien spirit (allóttron pneúma) should lick it up (32.4).

Against these evil spirits all Christians have access to the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit given them in the waters of baptism; hence by the moisture of their breath and the sign of the cross they can purify themselves from head to foot (36.11). Done in faith, this "image of baptism" puts diábolos to flight (37.1-4). Since all Christians possess the Spirit, Ap.Tr. never speaks of a believer's being exorcised by a bishop or presbyter.

The catechumen, however, is assumed to be akátharos and in need of exorcism before he can share the koinónia of believers. The teacher, whether clergy or layman, must cleanse the demon-possessed before allowing them to hear instruction (16.8) and must lay hands on the catechumens after each lesson (19.1). During the final period of intensive instruction the competentes (called electi in Rome) should be exorcised daily by imposition of hands, and on the day before the baptism the bishop himself shall exorcise each catechumen so as to guarantee his purity. Even then, however, one who "did not hear the word of instruction with faith" will remain impure; since the evil and strange spirit remains with him, he must be set aside (19.4). A final exorcism was applied by the presbyter who anointed the baptismal candidate with exorcistic oil after the Renunciation.

The bishop exorcised over the Oil of Exorcism for baptism (21.7) and exorcised the bread to be given to catechumens at the Eucharist (26.4). The presbyter presumably did not consecrate the oils of the baptismal unction, but was authorized along with the deacon to exorcise the eulogia for the catechumens (26.11) at the agape.

This pattern of exorcistic practice demonstrates that the bishop was the supreme Exorcist of the congregation, but exercised this power in fellowship with the entire Body of Christ.

Absolution. The ordination prayer asks that the bishop "by the high priestly Spirit may have authority to forgive sins according to Thy command" (3.5a). Ap.Tr. makes no further reference

to this episcopal function, however, and nowhere explains how this power was to be exercised. Ap.Tr. 16 sheds some light on ecclesiastical discipline and forgiveness. Catechetical candidates who practice certain forbidden habits or professions must either desist or be rejected (16.10, 11, 12 etc.), but if the circumstances of a school teacher make it impossible for him to desist, "let him have forgiveness" (16.13). If a catechumen or a baptized Christian (*pistōs*) volunteers as a soldier, he has despised God and should be cast out (16.19). This shows that at least some offenses after baptism were punished by expulsion from the fellowship of the Church, but it is not stated by whom these disciplinary measures were taken nor in what cases or by what processes restoration was bestowed.

Several other passages in the writings of Hippolytus give some information about his views on absolution. He reports that "the blessed presbyters" brought Noetus before the Church, twice examined him, and finally expelled him for heresy (C.Noet. 1.5).⁶⁴ Hippolytus objected violently to the pretensions of Callistus to forgive gross sensual sins (Ref. 9.12.20ff). A. Hamel concludes from the *lēgein* and the *hōros* of this description that Hippolytus was objecting to the claim of Callistus to declare sins forgiven by an official episcopal edict.⁶⁵ Tertullian's angry attack on the "edictum peremptorium" of the "pontifex maximus" (De pud. 1) probably refers either to this decree of Callistus or, since he spread his doctrine throughout the whole world (Ref. 9.13.1), to a similar decree by an African bishop.⁶⁶

The fact that Ap.Tr. devotes so little attention to the question of absolution may suggest either that no great emphasis was yet placed upon this aspect of episcopal authority or that the Church's norms on this subject were not yet sufficiently crystallized to have found a place among the authoritative and commonly recognized "apostolic tradition".

Teaching. Although Hippolytus stood in the tradition of Irenaeus, and in his other writings (especially in Ref.) emphasized the doctrinal and didactic responsibilities of the bishop as the guardian of Apostolic tradition, Ap.Tr. gives very little prominence to this aspect of episcopal authority. The episcopal ordination prayer mentions no teaching functions of the bishop, nor does

⁶⁴ Cf. the exhomolōgēsis of Natalios before the assembled clergy and congregation, Euseb. H.E. 5.28.12. On this passage and on Hippolytus' views of penance see Hamel (n. 5), pp. 62-69, 176.

⁶⁵ Hamel, ibid., p. 65.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 65f.

Ap. Tr. anywhere suggest that the princely Spirit which the bishop shares with the original Apostles gives him a special charismatic qualification for doctrinal pronouncement.

The Preface and Epilogue of Ap. Tr. lay great stress upon the responsibility of the bishops to maintain pure doctrine, and upon the disaster which results when "those at the head" follow their own devices rather than the Apostolic tradition (1.5, 38.3). A teaching function may have been implied in the bishop's shepherd-ing of the flock (3.4), and the bishop presumably preached at the general assemblies of the congregation. At the Baptismal Eu-charist the bishop explains to the recipients the meaning of the milk, honey and water of which they partake (23.4) and imparts secretly to the communicants any other matters which ought to be taught (23.14). The bishop also exhorted and answered questions during the Agape (26.10).

The instruction at the weekday morning assembly, which the bishop apparently did not need to attend, was entrusted to the presbyters and perhaps also the deacons (33.1f). From 35.2f it appears that this "instruction in the word" was sometimes given by didáskaloi from whom the people did not entertain great expec-tations. But the pessimist is reminded that "it is God whom he hears speaking by the mouth of him who instructs" (35.2) so that "it shall be given to him who speaks to utter things which are profit able to all, and thou shalt hear things which thou thinkest not and thou shalt be profited by the things which the Holy Spirit will give to thee by him who instructs and so thy faith will be estab-lished by what thou hearest. And further he shall tell thee there what thou oughtest to do in thine own house" (35.3). This morning instruction is "the assembly (ekklēsia) where the Holy Spirit abounds (floret)" (31.2, 35.3).⁶⁷ He who has prayed in the as-sembly will be guarded against evil throughout the day (35.2).

We have seen above the role of the didáskaloi, whether or-dained or laymen (19.1), in the preparation of the catechumens. The catechumens were taught privately by the teachers for three years (17.1). Then, if they had lived piously during their cate-chumante, they became electi, i.e. chosen to receive baptism (20.1), and were permitted to "hear the gospel" (20.2). G. Dix explains this by the Roman practice of the "aperitio aurium" on the third Wednesday before Easter, when the electi heard the

⁶⁷ In Comm. Dan. 1.17.8 Hipp. also gives a very exalted po-sition to the "choir of teachers", who seem to constitute an inde-pendent charismatic fellowship; cf. Hamel (n. 5), p. 160. On the im-portance of the numerous didáskaloi in Rome, see Dix (n. 16), pp. xxvii, p. 81.

gospel officially for the first time and the clergy assumed responsibility for the final preparation of the neophyte (cf. 20.3f).⁶⁸

Especially striking in Ap. Tr. is the insistence upon the doctrinal capacity and responsibility of the laity. All the faithful are to engage daily in private study of the Word (36.1). They should instruct one another in the traditions and encourage the catechumens to perform them (36.15) so that no one will be tempted or perish (36.15).⁶⁹ This high estimate of the theological competence of all the faithful is especially evident in the Prologue⁷⁰ and Epilogue,⁷¹ which explain Hippolytus' purpose in publishing his Church Order. He is disturbed by the failure of "those who are at the head of the Church" to detect and resist heresy and composes his tractate to remind all the faithful of the genuine tradition and alert them to the danger of innovation or deviation.⁷²

It is evident from the Prologue and Epilogue that Hippolytus directed his treatise to "all who rightly understand" and "hearken to the Apostolic Tradition" (38.2) because they have been rightly instructed (1.3) and hence hold to orthodox doctrine (1.5).⁷³ The

68 Dix, ibid., pp. 81f.

69 On the punctuation of 36.15 see Dix, ibid., p. 68. The protection against heresy which 36.15 ascribes to "all the faithful" is parallel to the immunity of "all who rightly understand" to heretical deceits as asserted in 38.2.

70 Ap. Tr. 1.1ff, Hauler, pp. 101f; Dix, ibid., pp. 1f, gives a critical version in English.

71 Ap. Tr. 38.1ff, Hauler, pp. 118, 121; Dix, ibid., pp. 71f.

72 Dix, ibid., p. xxxv observes that "this passage (1.5) of the Ap. Tr. suggests that he (Hipp.) is not himself at the head of Church, but is proposing to correct someone else who is by the light of the superior knowledge and inspiration which are the reward of his own superior orthodoxy". This must have been before Hipp. became the counter-pope against Callistus, since after that separation he considered himself the head of the Church and Callistus merely the schismatic founder of a school, the Callistians". The charge of "ignorance" in 1.4 corresponds precisely to Hippolytus' scornful critique of Zephyrinus, whom Callistus so easily duped (Ref. 9.11.1; cf. 9.12.1); see Botte (n. 33), p. 26.

73 In Ref. 1 praef. 6 Hipp. states that the Apostles transmitted the Holy Spirit "*tois orthōs pepisteukōsin*"; De Ant. 2 refers to the laity as "those who can believe rightly", and applies the term "rightly instructed" to the prophets and to Hippolytus himself as a student of the prophetic writings. For similar terminology cf. Ref. 9.11.4, 9.12.15f, and 9.31.2

believers, without any suggestion of hierarchical distinctions, are considered fully qualified for doctrinal discernment. The only reference to differences in ecclesiastical rank occurs when the prolētāmenoi are accused of deviation from the truth (38.3b) and made subject to critical review by the faithful (1.5).

This high view of the universal competence of believers rested upon a charismatic basis. God has freely bestowed his gifts among men according to his will (1.1), and even the laity may possess the fulness of the Spirit (4.12, 22.1). To those who believe rightly and are well-instructed in the Apostolic Tradition, the Holy Spirit grants perfectam gratiam so that they may know how the leaders should teach and maintain the tradition in all things (1.5). On this passage B. Botte has rightly observed that "c'est aux croyants orthodoxes qu'il attribue le charisme de juger ce que doivent faire les chefs de la communauté".⁷⁴

The Epilogue ends with the promise to the "beloved" that God will reveal to the "worthy" anything which has been omitted (38.4). It is reasonable to conclude, in view of the argument of the Prologue and Epilogue, that these áxioi are those "qui recte credunt" (the "áxiōs pisteuόmenoī" of Ref. 9.31.2) and have received "perfectam gratiam" from the Holy Spirit (1.5). Rather than suggest that these "worthy" must be only bishops or only clergymen, Ap. Tr. assumes that this charismatic discernment brings with it "das Recht der Kontrolle über die herrschenden Vorsteher".⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Botte (n. 33), p. 26; cf. E. Hennecke, "Hippolyts Schriftum 'Apostolische Überlieferung'", in Harnack-Ehrung (1921), pp. 163, 173-176. Hippolytus is not here specifically defending his own right to judge those at the head, but rather the right of his readers, the true believers, to do so. In Comm. Dan. 3.16.3f (Chap. 2, n. 130), where Hippolytus hints at his own cháris of superior wisdom, there is no suggestion that this is based upon his clerical office. Cf. Iren., Adv. haer. 4.33.1ff: the "spiritual disciple" who holds to the apostolic tradition and "diligently reads the Scriptures in company with the presbyters" (4.32.1, 4.33.8), truly receives the Spirit of God and hence judges all men, being judged of none.

⁷⁵ Hennecke, ibid., p. 173. Elfers (n. 4), pp. 204f, (n. 12), pp. 202f, argues from the "dignus" of Ap. Tr. 4.1 that the "worthy" in 38.4 must refer exclusively to the bishops, who because of their Amtscharisma have been constituted Offenbarungsträger. Nothing in Ap. Tr. indicates that áxios is an exclusive terminus technicus for the bishop, however, and the whole argument of the Prologue and Epilogue make such a supposition impossible. The word áxios is also applied to the presbyters (Ap. Tr. 8.4),

Ref. 1 praef. 6 asserts the responsibility of the bishop to guard the doctrine of the Church, so that no heresy or deviation from tradition be allowed to sully the purity of its faith. Ap. Tr. also gives paramount importance to the orthodox preservation of unadulterated Apostolic tradition, and it gives some indication of the doctrinal responsibilities of the bishop. But teaching functions are widely distributed in Ap. Tr. and charismatic insight and gifts are recognized without regard to official hierarchical status. In view of Hippolytus' passionate concern for orthodox doctrine, it is remarkable that Ap. Tr. makes virtually no reference to the supreme dogmatic and didactic authority of the bishop.

Other functions. The bishop received the offerings of the people and pronounced the liturgical blessing upon them. The offerings mentioned consisted of oil (Ap. Tr. 5), cheese and olives (Ap. Tr. 6), the first fruits of the crops, but not vegetables (38, 1-6), and roses and lilies (38, 7). Jewish influence is evident both in the offerings specified and in the form of blessing.⁷⁶ The bishop blesses God over the object, naming the offerer (28, 2). The location of the sections on oil, cheese and olives (Ap. Tr. 5, 6) immediately after the ordination eucharist, whereas the article on first fruits (ch. 28) appears much later, suggests that the offering of the former was originally associated with the eucharist and may have represented part of the "usurpatio juris" of the bishop in his high-priestly office.⁷⁷

deacons (9, 11), communicants (Ch. 7, Eth.), and the newly baptized (22, 1). Ap. Tr. 35, 3 affirms that the Spirit teaches through the instructors, who were apparently not bishops, and 16, 25 (if genuine) asserts of the catechists a pneumatic discernment for cases omitted from the stipulations provided. Cf. also Hipp., De Ant. 1; Barn. 9, 7-9; Justin, Dial. 39, 2, 117, 2, Apol. I, 65, 67; Iren., Adv. haer. 5, 36, 1, 2; Euseb., H. E., 5, 1, 31.

⁷⁶ J. B. Bauer, "Die Früchtesegnung in Hippolyts K. O.", Z. Kath. Th. 74 (1952), pp. 71-75. Cf. B. Reicke (n. 44), pp. 52ff, 61ff; Dix (n. 16), p. xlvi.

⁷⁷ Elfers (n. 12), p. 203, argues that because the bishops received the first fruits and offerings of the people they must have been considered prophets, since according to Did. 13 these were previously given to the prophets. But Did. 13, 3 states explicitly that these are to be given to the prophets because they are the high priests, and that in the absence of a prophet they should be given to the poor. When the bishop achieved the status of high priest, he inherited the prerogative of consecrating the offerings in the same capacity. Cf. v. Campenhausen (n. 7), p. 193.

The offerings thus consecrated were undoubtedly used for the liturgical ministries of the Church (cf. 5.2), the support of the clergy, and the care of the poor and the sick.⁷⁸ This latter factor may explain the position of the article on first fruits (ch. 28) immediately following that on the charitable supper for the widows (ch. 27). It was the responsibility of the bishop, with the help of the deacons, to administer the financial aspects of this program (9.3, 26.14ff, 30.1). Ap. Tr. 9.3 may have stated that the deacons, under the direction of the bishop, were responsible for church properties, but the reading is uncertain.

Ap. Tr. 34 reveals that the care of the cemetery was the responsibility of the bishop, who provided from church funds for a watchman-caretaker.⁷⁹ The people paid for the workman who buried the bodies, but the bishop was to see that there was "no heavy charge". The duty of the bishop and deacons to care for the sick and encourage them by pastoral visitation is outlined in Ap. Tr. 30. In Cans. Hipp. 21 this is given strong overtones of charismatic healing.

Almost nothing is said of the legislative or administrative responsibilities of the bishop, except for the financial aspects outlined above. He probably named and installed the lower clergy though normally with the counsel of the presbyterate. Ap. Tr. 33.1 seems to indicate that the bishop assigned to the presbyters and deacons their places of parochial ministry. Unlike Cans. Hipp., Ap. Tr. gives no description of the bishop's "diplomatic" functions in relations to other congregations. It would seem from the kyberian of Ap. Tr. 8.2 that the presbyters shared extensively in the government of the Church.

Conclusion. Although Ap. Tr. neither applies honorific titles to the bishop nor insists upon authoritarian claims to episcopal power, it clearly reveals the exalted position of the bishop in the Roman Church at the beginning of the third century. He was God's ordained high priest, and every vital aspect of the Church's life was under his supervision and direction. The most solemn liturgical functions were peculiarly his, but he exercised them in vital unity with the entire Body of Christ and especially within the corporate priesthood of the presbyterate. In the eucharist, the pres-

78 Cf. B. Reicke (n. 44), pp. 52ff, 61ff.

79 On the administration of the cemetery see Dix (n. 16), p. xxx, and La Piana (n. 39), pp. 254f. For the revisions of this article in Cans. Hipp., where the cemetery becomes a hospital and the burial titles become earthenware pots, see Connolly, (n. 40), pp. 116-119.

byters joined him in a corporate imposition of hands over the elements prior to the liturgical dialogue and the consecratory prayer, and ministered the chalice, and at times the bread, to the faithful. (The description of the private house eucharist also seems to imply that the quasi-consecratory prayer of the layman over the chalice was eucharistically efficacious.) Ordination was the most uniquely episcopal prerogative, yet it was evidently exercised not monolithically but in corporate solidarity: congregation, presbyters, and visiting bishops all played harmonious roles, as if symphonically, in the election and consecration of the new bishop. The presbyters also "sealed" the ordination of their compresbyters by a corporate presbyteral imposition of hands.

Presbyters and lay teachers seem to have shared almost without restriction the right to exorcise. Strangely, Ap. Tr. gives practically no emphasis to two roles which later became uniquely episcopal: the right to baptize, which in Ap. Tr. is ascribed to the presbyters rather than the bishop, and the authority to define doctrine. Neither does Ap. Tr. elaborate any procedures for absolution nor any peculiar episcopal authority to absolve.

Although earlier presbyteral traditions have left literary traces in Ap. Tr. and their lingering influences produced some occasionally awkward compromises, mono-episcopacy was nonetheless an accepted fact. The bishop was primarily the supreme Liturgist and Exorcist of the local congregation, rather than the supreme diocesan Administrator which he became during the fourth century. His position might be described as definitely more than a "presidency of the presbyterate" or merely "primus inter parres", but less than an absolute monarchy.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BASIS OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE BISHOP

Although Ap. Tr. describes the ordination and authority of the bishop in great detail, it does not elaborate a systematized theory of the basis of episcopal authority. Its interest focuses upon what is to be done in the Church rather than how this is to be theoretically justified. The authority of the bishop seems to have been taken for granted; in contrast, for example, to the competition between presbyters and deacons which motivated the long argument section in Ap. Tr. 9, the position of the bishop did not seem to be the subject of any special controversy.

Church Order. Underlying all ecclesiastical authority in Ap. Tr. is the emphasis upon Church Order which gives to this document its character and its structure. The ordinances (hóroi) of the Church are established by God through the Word of His grace; from the beginning He has foreordained a People unto Himself and instituted princes, priests, and ministers of the sanctuary (3.2).¹ As God commanded Moses to choose presbyters for Israel, so He is now besought to preserve His Spirit unceasingly among his people, and specifically among the presbyters (8.2f). Even the Christian unctions, which were administered to laity as well as clergy, were considered continuous with "the hallowing wherewith thou didst anoint kings, and priests and prophets" (5.2). For Ap. Tr. the ecclesiastical ordinances of the new People of God are as divinely ordained as were those of ancient Israel.²

¹ See above, Ch. II, for ordination prayer. It is possible that the "terminum fitat" of the Eucharistic prayer (4.8) also refers to Church Order; G. Dix, The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome (1937), p. 8, following Eth., interprets the phrase to mean that Christ has died "to establish the ordinance". B. Botte, Hippolyte de Rome: La tradition apostolique (1946), p. 32, holds that the verb pégnymi would not be employed with hóros and translates the phrase by "établir le testament". The most convincing explanation is given by H. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl (1926), p. 161. In view of the context of this passage, which emphasizes the conquest of satanic power through the death of Christ, Lietzmann sees here a reference to the erection of the cross as a Grenzstein against the sphere of darkness and hell.

² See above, Ch. II, notes 22f.

The episcopal ordination prayer also draws attention to the dominical basis of Christian Church order. The bishop has authority "to forgive sins according to Thy command", "to assign lots according to Thy bidding", and "to loose every bond according to the authority Thou gavest to the Apostles" (3.5). These phrases suggest that Christian Church order, and episcopal authority in particular, rest upon the explicit command of Christ Jesus during his earthly life.

The title "Apostolike Parádosis", for a work dedicated primarily to church order and liturgy, indicates the decisive importance attributed to these regulations. Even if our surviving Church Order were only "Part Two" of a single work entitled "Apostolic Tradition Concerning Grace-Gifts", the Prologue leaves no doubt that these ecclesiastical ordinances are the "vertex traditionis" (1.2) toward which the entire argument is directed. This emphasis upon church order, considered as a vital aspect of the authoritative apostolic tradition, is also characteristic of the other writings of Hippolytus.³

Ordination. Ecclesiastical authority, as understood by Ap. Tr., is normally based upon the rite of ordination. The importance of ordination is shown in the fact that the first fourteen chapters of Ap. Tr. (after the Prologue) are dedicated to that subject, and also in the clear and frequent distinction between clergy and laity (9.6, 8, 19.1, 25.1f, 26.12). Ordination proper, in the strict sense of the word, is only for the ordines maiores (11.5) because of their role in the liturgy of the Eucharist. Among these the bishop stands supreme, both because he is ordained to the highest office in the Church and because no other ordinations can be performed without him.

Clerical ordination gave special authority and dignity to the ordained. Ap. Tr. 10.1 speaks of the time of the presbyterate, while 9.11 calls the diaconate a "high and exalted office".⁴ Since the confessor had the office and honor of a presbyter without imposition of hands, however, it seems clear that clerical office

³ See A. Hamel, Kirche bei Hippolyt von Rom (1951), pp. 118-120; cf. his article, "Über das kirchenrechtliche Schrifttum Hippolyts", Z.N.W. 36 (1937), pp. 238-242. Cf. esp. Hipp., Ref. 8.18.2, 8.19.2, 8.20.1, 9.11.1, Comm.Dan. 4.20.3.

⁴ Dix (n. 1), p. 17, renders 9.11 as given above, but explains that the two adjectives are probably a rendition of one Greek word by two Syriac synonyms. Botte (n. 1), p. 41, however, follows Ap.Cons. 8.18.3 to read, "make him worthy of a more elevated degree".

was not indispensably based upon ordination. For the episcopacy, however, presbyters and confessors must always be ordained by the imposition of hands, even though they share the same pneuma hegemonikón and "communis spiritus cleri" as the bishops. The unique quality of episcopal ordination consisted in the high-priestly office (3.4) and potestates (3.5) it bestowed. The decisive element in episcopal ordination and authority was the power to ordain. The presbyter received exousia in his ordination, but he is not authorized to give clerical orders to others.

Ordination was considered the manifestation of divine choice, expressed through the corporate will of the Spirit-guided Body of Christ.⁵ This was basic to the understanding of the authority imparted by it.

High-Priesthood. Perhaps no phrase from Ap. Tr. better summarizes the position and dignity of the bishop than that from the deacon's ordination prayer (9.11) which describes him as "Thine ordained high priest". It is clear from this passage, as well as from the episcopal ordination prayer (3.4f), that the unique eucharistic prerogative of the bishop was based upon his high-priesthood. On the other hand, the eucharistic prayer (4.11) describes the eucharistic ministry as hierateúein (rather than archierateúein) and seems to interpret this in a corporate presbyteral sense rather than a personal monarchical sense.⁶ The ordination prayer also implies that the powers of absolution, ordination, and exorcism are exercised by the bishop "in the high-priestly Spirit", though all of these functions were to some extent shared with the presbyters. Ref. 1 praef. 6 implies that the bishop's archierateía, along with his reception of the Holy Spirit

⁵ On ordination, see above, Ch. II; cf. H. v. Campenhausen, "Die Anfänge des Priesterbegriffs in der alten Kirche" in his Tradition und Leben, p. 278: "Auch die Wahl durch die Gemeinde, die zunächst durchaus im Vordergrund steht, trägt geistlichen Charakter und ist mit der Weihe zusammen für das Recht und die Vollmacht der Bischöfe--und zwar auch für ihre priesterliche Vollmacht--unentbehrlich und konstitutiv. Dass diese Weihe schon bei Hippolyt nur noch durch Geistliche vollzogen wird, mag mit dem Gedanken der apostolischen Sukzession zusammenhängen, so verständlich eine solche Regelung freilich auch ohne sie wäre. Betont wird diese Tatsache jedenfalls nicht im Sinne einer 'Weihe sukzession'; die Nachfolge im Amte ist entscheidend".

⁶ See above, Ch. II; on the eucharistic prayer and on the corporate presbyteral priesthood. Ap. Tr. 9.2ff insists that the deacon is not ordained for a priesthood, and hence his authority is inferior to that of the bishop and presbyters.

and of apostolic teaching, qualifies him for doctrinal guardianship. Ap. Tr., however, is more inclined to insist that the orthodoxy of the bishop himself must be tested and attested by the faithful according to the norm of apostolic tradition.

Ap. Tr. also specifies that various offerings (ch. 5f) and first-fruits (ch. 38) are to be brought to the bishop, who shall bless them and offer them to God. The passages make no explicit use of priestly language, but such a context may be suggested by a comparison with Did. 13.3, which commands that the first-fruits shall be brought to the prophets "because they are your high priests". The parallel is especially relevant if Did. 9f be taken to mean that the prophets led the Communion service and pronounced the eucharistic prayer (eucharistein, Did. 10.7). It would be difficult, however, to prove any direct genetic relation between the high-priesthood of the prophet in Did. and that of the bishop in Ap. Tr.

H. van Campenhausen has called attention to "die innere Abhängigkeit des Priesters von dem Ganzen der Kirche und Gemeinde" in early Christian thought, and especially in Ap. Tr.⁸. Priestly authority was based upon election "ab omni populo" and ordination as the corporate act of the entire People of God. Since ordination was not understood as imparting any character indelebilis, priesthood became ineffective and meaningless when separated from the Church Catholic. Not until the late fourth century, according to v. Campenhausen, did the concept of an indestructible priestly character, stamped by ordination upon the clergy,⁹ become current.

⁷ Although the language of Did. 9f seems explicitly eucharistic, some scholars, including G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (1945), pp. 48, 90ff, have argued that this passage concerns the celebration of an agape rather than of the eucharist. But B. Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos (1951), pp. 13f, gives reason to understand this celebration as "deutlich eucharistisch". H. Elfers, Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts (1938), pp. 170, 246-248, although he understands Did. 9 as a thanksgiving prayer for the agape, interprets Did. 10 as a eucharistic celebration led by the prophet. J. Quasten, Patrologia (1961; Span. ed. of Patrology I, 1950), p. 39, concludes that Did. 9f represent the peculiar features of the baptismal Eucharist, while Did. 14 describes the Sunday Mass. See also Ch. II. n. 127.

⁸ H. v. Campenhausen (n.5), p. 278.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 272-281.

Apostolic Succession. Two emphatic clauses in the episcopal ordination prayer suggest a directly apostolic basis for the authority of the bishop. God is besought to pour out upon the bishop-consecrane "that Power which is from Thee, of 'the princely Spirit', which Thou didst deliver to Thy Beloved Child Jesus Christ, which He bestowed on Thy Holy Apostles who established the Church which hallows Thee in every place" (3.3). By this "high-priestly Spirit" the new bishop is to exercise "authority to forgive sins according to Thy command, to assign lots according to Thy bidding", and "to loose every bond according to the authority Thou gavest to the Apostles" (3.5).

These clauses imply a two-fold apostolic grounding of episcopal authority: the bishops share in the Spirit given the Apostles, and the bishops exercise certain apostolic prerogatives and to that extent share the Apostolic office. The bishops clearly share in these two gifts (*dedōrēsai*, *édōkas*) given by the incarnate Lord to the holy Apostles.

Our study of the ordination prayer has indicated that the pneūma hēgemonikón of Ap. Tr. 3.3 refers to the Spirit of God rather than an official spiritus or habitus given in ordination. As the Father bestowed the divine Spirit upon the Son at the Jordan, and the Son imparted the same Spirit to the Apostles (cf. Jn. 20. 22, Acts 2), so now the Father is besought to pour out the power of the princely Spirit upon the new bishop. The subsequent clauses of the ordination prayer (3.4, 5) suggest that this Spirit is besought especially to qualify the bishop elect to fulfill the pastoral and priestly ministries of the episcopal office.

Although Ap. Tr. 3.3 does not proceed to elaborate a specific doctrine of Apostolic Succession on the basis of this clause, it is clear from other sources that this emphasis upon the charismatic continuity of the true Church and its ministry was one of the theological strands which became woven together into the fully developed concept of Apostolic Succession. We have seen above that Irenaeus insisted stoutly, against the gnostic innovators, that the Holy Spirit and all His gifts have been granted to the Church Catholic under the guardianship of the episcopal-presbyteral succession.¹⁰ In a later writing (Ref. 1 praef. 6) Hippolytus likewise

¹⁰ See above, Ch. II, n. 131. The implications of Ap. Tr. 3.3 would be considerably greater if it were possible to equate "*tēn parà sōū dýnamin tōū hēgemonikōū pneúmatos*" with the "charisma veritatis certum" of Iren., Adv. haer. 4.26.2. The language and thought of the two passages differ greatly, however, and it is by no means clear what Iren. meant by the "charisma veritatis" received by the presbyters along with succession to the episco-

asserted that the gift of the Holy Spirit, transmitted in the Church to those believing rightly, was active in the orthodox episcopal succession and effectively refuted all heresies. The relationship becomes even more explicit in the episcopal ordination prayer of Sacr. Sarap. 28, which prays that the new bishop may be "a holy successor to the apostles, filled, as in the old days, with grace and the Holy Spirit".

One element of genuine concept of Apostolic Succession, however, is significantly missing from Ap. Tr. 3.3—namely, the element of succession itself (*diadochē*).¹¹ There is no suggestion that an "Apostolic Spirit" has been transmitted through an unbroken chain of valid episcopal ordinations. Rather, the Father is besought to pour the Spirit forth from heaven upon the new bishop, as He had formerly bestowed His Spirit upon His Son. The interim between Pentecost and the second-century is passed over in silence. There is no suggestion of an episcopal "Accipe Spiritus Sanctus"; the gift of the Spirit is associated in a vertical manner with the prayer of the congregation, presbyterate (2.4) and ordaining bishop (3.3) rather than with the horizontal continuity of a chain of layings on of hands.¹²

One phrase in Ap. Tr. 3.3 does suggest a link between the Apostles and later generation: Jesus Christ bestowed the Spirit upon the Apostles, "who established the Church which hallows Thee in every place". This tendency to pass directly from the Apostles to the world-wide Church is in fact more representative of Patristic thought than the correlative series, "Apostles, apostolically-ordained bishops (presbyters), and present bishop".¹³

pate. On the discussion of this problem see K. Müller, "Das Charisma veritatis und die Episkopat bei Irenäus", Z.N.W. 23 (1924), pp. 216-222; A. Ehrhardt, The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries (1953), pp. 113-119; and A. Hamel (n. 3), pp. 143f., 183-186.

¹¹ This has been rightly observed by G. Dix, "The Ministry in the Early Church", in The Apostolic Ministry, ed. K. E. Kirk (1947), pp. 200, 214f, and H. v. Campenhausen, Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht (1953), p. 193.

¹² See above, Ch. II, notes 137-140.

¹³ See esp. H. v. Campenhausen (n. 11), p. 186; Eduard Schwartz, Über die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen (1910), p. 32, states that these words "schildern scharf und deutlich die weit ausgebreitete, sich als eine Einheit empfindende, aber durch keine Verfassung zusammengehaltene Christenheit der vorkonstantinische Zeit". A similar emphasis upon the apostolically founded Churches is found in Iren., Adv. haer. 3 praef., 3.3.3,

This phrase from Ap. Tr. 3.3 corresponds exactly to the statement of Ref. 1 praef. 6 that "τὸ en ekklesia paradothen hagion pneuma" was given first to the Apostles and then to "τοῖς orthōs pepisteukōsin". From this feature of the earliest "succession" passages G. Dix has rightly concluded that the diadoche was understood as "official succession" (to the dead predecessor in the see to which the bishop is ordained) rather than "sacramental succession" (to the consecrating bishops).¹⁴ It is as a bishop within the apostolically-founded Church Catholic that the ordinand receives from God "the power of the princely Spirit".

This is further confirmed by the strong emphasis of Ap. Tr. upon the charismatic solidarity of the bishop with the presbyterate and the entire Church. Ap. Tr. never states that the Spirit given the bishop is not received by any others. The emphasis upon the "communis Spiritus cleri", the article on the confessor, and the probable duplication of the petition for the "princely Spirit" in both episcopal and presbyteral ordination, all imply that the "Apostolic Spirit" of 3.3 was not the exclusive personal possession of the bishop.

The ordination prayer also specifies three potestates which are peculiarly episcopal—the power to absolve, ordain, and exorcise—and implies that some if not all of these are the continuation in the episcopacy of prerogatives given by Christ to the Apostles. This is clearly asserted only of the power to exorcise, but seems to be implied in the two previous cases by the phrases "according to Thy command" and "according to Thy bidding". No explicit emphasis is given to the assertion that these Apostolic potestates are continued specifically in the episcopal office, and it is significant that all three of these functions were to some extent shared with other orders and that the power to exorcise was the least exclusively episcopal of the three. On the other hand, the emphatic occurrence of these dominical-apostolic references in the episcopal ordination prayer, in contrast to those for presbyters and deacons, may be taken to mean that these particular apostolic exousiai are now exercised properly and peculiarly by the episcopacy. This is confirmed by the actual supremacy of the bishop in all of the explicitly priestly functions, and especially in ordination.

These dominically-ordained Apostolic privileges are indeed a revealing index to the dignity and authority of the bishop in Ap.Tr.

3.4.1, 3.12.15, 3.24.1, 4.17.5, 5 praef.; Hipp. De Ant. 61, Comm. Dan. 4.9.2, Bl. Mos. 11.1; Tert., De praescr. 20.21; cf. also Cypr., Epp. 33.1, 75.16, De aleat. 1.

¹⁴ G. Dix (n. 10), pp. 202, 204.

It is less clear, however, that these clauses from the ordination prayer were understood to transfer to the bishop the identical office or the essential authority of the apostolate.¹⁵ Four factors make it doubtful that Hippolytus identified the apostolic and the episcopal offices.

First, a crucial phrase in the episcopal ordination prayer reveals a fundamentally missionary concept of the apostolate as "Thy holy Apostles who established the Church which hallows Thee in every place" (Ap. Tr. 3.3). The other writings of Hippolytus are likewise stamped by a marked tendency to view the apostles as the founders of the world-wide Church.¹⁶ The twelve-starred crown of the woman clothed with the sun (i.e., the Word) in Rev. 12.1 represents the twelve apostles "*di hōn kathidrytai hē ekklēsia*" (De Ant. 61; cf. Ap. Tr. 3.3), reaching even the most distant races with the Gospel (Bl. Mos. 11.1, 17.2). Through the Apostles God has called all nations to himself and created from them a united, believing People to His name (Comm. Dan. 4.9.2). Like twelve steeds drawing the chariot of Pharaoh (Song Sol., 1.9), the Apostles have come out from Israel and brought the Church to all the world (Song Sol., 8).¹⁷

Secondly, there is evidence that Hippolytus viewed the Apostles among the charismatic or "irregular" ministries of the

¹⁵ On the distinction between the "potestas ordinaria" and the "potestas extraordinaria" of the apostolate see P. Olta, in XVI Semana Española de Teología (1957), p. 348; cf. O. Cullmann, Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr (1958), pp. 214, 223f.

¹⁶ See esp. A. Hamel (n. 3), pp. 26-36, and cf. above, n. 13 and below, n. 20.

¹⁷ Pharaoh's wagon represents the gathering of the Gentiles (i.e., the Church Universal). The four Gospels are the four wheels, and the Word is the charioeteer. The Apostles are sent for the instruction of the whole world, and thus are an example to the Synagogue: "Repent, O Synagogue, so that you too may preach Christ and become one of His Steeds for a speedy journey into all the world, even like unto Paul and Peter or the beloved disciple" (Song Sol., 8.8). The priority of Saint Paul, in this missionary-apostolic context, is especially noteworthy. In Bl. Jac. 11 (on Gen. 48.5, 6) Hipp. sees the theological justification for the inclusion of Paul as a thirteenth Apostle in the fact that Jacob blessed both the sons of Joseph (cf. Bl. Mos. 3.3, 14.2; Bl. Jac. 11, 28; De Ant. 51; see Hamel, ibid., pp. 33-35).

Church and contrasted them to the hierarchy. In Comm. Dan. 1.17.8f he mentions "the choir of the Apostles" in correlation with the martyrs, virgins, prophets and teachers, after which comes "die Ordnung der Bischöfe, der Priester aber und Leviten"—clearly implying, by both the syntax and the language of the passage, that Apostles were not to be "co-ordinated" with the subsequent three-fold hierarchy.¹⁸ In the nautical analogy of De Ant. 59 (based on Isa. 18.1f) the lofty "topsail" consists of "the company of prophets, martyrs, and apostles", now entered into their heavenly rest. They are made wise (Comm. Dan. 1.17.8) and sanctified (Bl. Jac. 19) through the Word.

Thirdly, Hippolytus seems clearly to attribute greater importance to Apostolic Tradition than to Apostolic Succession. In contrast to the few passages where he suggests, usually indirectly, a doctrine of the latter, stand the many passages which insist explicitly upon the life-and-death importance of the former.¹⁹ The very title of Ap. Tr. underscores this emphasis, as do the many passages in which Hippolytus asserts or assumes that the Apostles founded the Church precisely through the missionary

¹⁸ See also above, Ch. II, n. 126. Cf. Comm. Dan. 2.37.4 and 4.14.3. Com. Prov. 9.1 (Grk. Frgmt., but prob. not by Hipp.) lists "tous prophetas, tous apostolous, tous martyras, tous hierarchas, tous asketas, tous hosios kal tous dikaious". Arab. Fragmt. 20 to Pent. (Gr.chr. Schr., Hipp. I, 2, pp. 108ff) in an allegory on Mt. 20.1-6, lists "the company of prophets", "the company of twelve disciples", and "the company of witnesses (martyres)", but then proceeds to "all wanderers and strangers" and "the company of sinners"; see Hamel, ibid., pp. 146f. Although probably not directly Hippolytean, these two passages reflect the same tendency to correlate the apostolate with the "non-hierarchical" ministries. It is striking that among the many series of this kind which survive as either directly or indirectly Hippolytean, the apostolate is not found in continuity with the episcopal-presbyteral-diaconal hierarchy.

¹⁹ Here Hippolytus follows his teacher, Irenaeus, who introduces the argument from episcopal succession precisely in the service of his defense of faithful apostolic tradition against its distortion by the heretics; cf. A. Benoit, Saint Irénée, Introduction à l'Étude de sa théologie (1960), pp. 178ff.

preaching of the Word.²⁰ The Apostles feed the believers with spiritual, heavenly food, with the Bread of Life (Bl. Jac. 19, 24).²¹ In a very significant comment on Song of Sol. 3.1 Hippolytus remarks that Mary and Martha had first, like the Jews, sought the Living One among the dead; but then they met the Risen Lord and became Apostles of Christ (Song Sol. 25, 6). Thus they became true and faithful helpers of Adam; "O good helpmeets who brought to the man the blessed news, which the women proclaimed to the disciples" (25.8). In this passage the Biblical concept of the Apostles as the unique heilsgeschichtliche eyewitnesses of the ministry, death, and resurrection of Christ, divinely sent to proclaim it to others, is still clearly evident. It is reasonable to assume that precisely this understanding of the apostolate underlies Hippolytus' characteristic emphasis upon the missionary proclamation and the authoritative teaching of the Apostles.²²

Finally, the functions which the bishop shares with the Apostles according to the ordination prayer do not seem to be those which, either for the New Testament or for Hippolytus, were definitive for the apostolic office. In neither source do we find any insistence that only Apostles could lead Holy Communion, absolve,

²⁰ See above, n. 16, 17. Cf. Bl. Mos. 11.1, the Apostles preached first to the Sons of Jacob and then to all nations. Bl. Mos. 17.2, the preaching of the Apostles has reached to the farthest races. Bl. Jac. 1, the seven-branched candelabra, which brings redemptive light to the distant Gentiles, is the Word which was revealed in mystery by the prophets but in the Catholic Church has shone forth in full clarity through the preaching of the Cross. Comm. Dan. 1.17.11, like the four streams of Paradise, the four-fold Gospel has watered the entire earth in that the Church has proclaimed Christ throughout the world. See Hamel (n. 3), pp. 28f.

²¹ On Gen. 49.20 Hipp. comments, "perὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον αἱτί-
ται ὁ πρόφετος, ὡστὶς διέκονεσαν καὶ μετέδοκαν τὸν τῆς
ζῷης ἄρτον" (Bl. Jac. 24). This stress upon missionary teaching and the inspired writing of apostolic scripture prob. explains the emphasis upon Paul, Peter, and John (see above, n.16). In Bl. Jac. 3 Hipp. explains Gen. 25.30 to mean that Israel (Jacob), God's first chosen people, must receive the Word from the Gentile Church (Esau); cf. Hamel, ibid., p. 24.

²² On the N. T. meaning of apostleship see esp. O. Cullmann (n.15), pp. 58ff, 215ff, and H. v. Campenhausen, "Der urchristliche Apostelbegriff", in Studia Theologica (1948), pp. 110ff.

ordain, or exorcise.²³ On the other hand, crucially important apostolic prerogatives receive no emphasis in the episcopal prayer of Ap.Tr. or in the role of the bishop in the Church Order. The apostolic office of governing, if it is found at all in the episcopal ordination prayer, enters only ambiguously in the one unelaborated poimanein of 3.4. The almost complete absence of emphasis upon the bishop's ruling or governing authority is probably due to the stress upon the corporate kybernan of the presbyterate, as seen in the presbyteral ordination prayer and in the argument passage of Ap.Tr. 9.²⁴ Equally striking is the silence of the ordination prayer concerning the teaching authority of the bishop, which for Hippolytus was so decisively constitutive for the apostolic office, and concerning his succession to an apostolically founded cathedra.²⁵ Finally, in Bl.Mos. 14.2, 4, Hippolytus states that Paul, sent as an Apostle to preach in all the world, performed wonders wherever he went. He never asserts of the bishop any corresponding "signs of an Apostle".²⁶ Although he indicates the role of the bishop as exorcist, he neither presents this power as exclusively apostolic-episcopal nor interprets it as an apostolic sign.

We may perhaps summarize our problem by a critical evaluation of the statement of K. E. Kirk that "the identity of function

23 For some references to the considerable body of evidence that some of these functions may have originally been performed by un-ordained ministers, esp. the prophets, see Ch. II, n. 127; cf. J. Quasten, Patrologia I (1961; Span. transl. of Patrology I and II, 1950-1953), pp. 39, 41, 43. Did. 15.1ff implies that the bishops and deacons are chosen only as substitutes for the apostles and prophets, rather than that the prophets serve only in the absence of the bishop.

24 See above, Ch. II. Hippolytus' silence about "the power of the keys" should also be noted.

25 Cf. by contrast the preface by Rufinus to his Latin translation of the pseudo-Clementine Recognitions referring to the letter in which Clement informs James that Peter has left him as "his successor in his chair and teaching".

26 Cf. the challenge of Tertullian as a Montanist, that those who claimed to exercise Apostolic prerogatives ought to demonstrate their right to do so by performing miracles, De pud. 22. The tendency of Cans.Hipp. to assimilate the bishop to the apostles in this respect, even suggesting that their shadow may heal the sick (Cans.Hipp. 24), is clearly a later redaction.

enjoyed by the second-century bishop and the first-century apostle is too close to be regarded as a purely fortuitous coincidence".²⁷ A. Ehrhardt has tested this opinion by a comparison between Paul (the Apostle who spoke most extensively about his office) and the second-century bishop as profiled in Ap. Tr. 2f. This reveals that (a) while Paul insisted that he was not ordained "of men nor through man" to his office, the second-century bishop must be consecrated by more than one comprovincial bishop; (b) while Paul was ordained by God to a universal ministry and bore "the care of all the churches", the bishop of Ap. Tr. 3 was ordained by one particular congregation to one particular see; (c) while Paul never claimed sacerdotal dignity nor placed special emphasis upon his sacramental ministry, the Roman bishop two centuries later was the archiereüs whose special province was the sacramental liturgy; (d) while Paul himself (except for the equivocal evidence of I. Tim. 4.14, II Tim. 1.6) never claims a special apostolic right to ordain, in Ap. Tr. this has become the exclusive and distinctive prerogative of the episcopate; (e) while Paul's entire life and energy were devoted to the ministry of the Word as his highest privilege and most solemn responsibility, the episcopal ordination prayer of Ap. Tr. mentions this function of the bishop only indirectly, if at all.²⁸ An analysis of the concepts of the apostolate and the episcopacy in the writings of Hippolytus confirms Ehrhardt's conclusion; there seems to be a fundamental discontinuity between the two, even though the bishop is heir to certain potestates which were originally granted to the Apostles by our Lord.

One emphasis of Ap. Tr. was vitally important in the development of the doctrine of Apostolic Succession—viz., the high priesthood of the bishop.²⁹ As we have seen, this is especially

27 K. E. Kirk (n. 11), p. 10. Cf. Hamel (n. 3), p. 188: "das Bischofsamt das ganze apostolische Amt (mit Einschränkung bezüglich der Sündenvergebung) in aller seiner Wirksamkeit fortsetzt und nicht nur wie bei Irenäus das Lehramt umfasst". Although the contrast to Irenaeus is valid, Hamel's own exposition of the apostolate as understood by Hippolytus should suffice to show that the two offices were radically distinct.

28 A. Ehrhardt (n. 10), pp. 14f.

29 A. Ehrhardt, ibid., has argued with special force that Apostolic Succession arose from the concept of the continuation of the Jewish high priesthood in the episcopacy, with James of Jerusalem as the starting point, and that the earliest succession

prominent in the episcopal ordination prayer, where we have also found the reference to the Spirit and the potestates of the Apostles. The suggestion of Apostolic Succession at this point is further enhanced by the apparent identity of the "high priestly Spirit" (3.5) and the "princely Spirit" which Christ bestowed upon the Apostles (3.3).

Careful analysis of the ordination prayer, however, indicates that the "high priestly Spirit" must be understood of the Spirit of God, who alone qualifies men for priestly ministry, rather than of an apostolic-episcopal Amtsgeist, and that this Spirit is given by God in answer to prayer rather than transmitted horizontally through episcopal ordination. There is also reason to believe that the same Spirit was shared by the presbyterate, so that these terms could hardly have been understood to imply an exclusively episcopal Apostolic Succession. Furthermore, Hippolytus' view of the apostolic office does not seem to have been characteristically or basically high-priestly.

Ap. Tr. gives great emphasis to the high priesthood of the bishop, and the high priesthood of the bishop seems to have been central to the development of the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. But it is difficult to determine how far-reaching a doctrine of Apostolic Succession was actually implied in the high-priestly language of the consecration prayer.

Another passage, which Hippolytus probably wrote several decades after Ap. Tr., shows close parallels to the episcopal ordination prayer but also goes beyond the relatively non-technical language of the Church Order and supplies both the idea of transmission and a more specific correlation between the apostolate and the episcopate. The passage is Ref. 1 praef. 6f: "These (heretics) none other will refute than the Holy Spirit which is transmitted in (the) Church, which the Apostles, as the first to receive it, imparted to those who have rightly believed. Since we, being their successors, share both [te] this same grace and also [te] (the) high priesthood and teaching (or, teaching office), and since we have been reputed guardians of the Church, we do not let our eye nod nor do we silence the correct doctrine...not being remiss in the things committed unto us... (but) generously sharing with all whatever the Holy Spirit imparts to us...and

lists are therefore patterned after the Jewish high priestly succession lists. Cf. also O. Cullmann, "Die neuentdeckten Qumrantexte und das Judenchristentum der Pseudoklementinen", in Ntl. Studien für R. Bultmann (1954), p. 41; Dix (n. 11), pp. 200, 230, 248f.

whatever the truth, receiving it by the grace of the Father, has ministered to men."

Like the episcopal ordination prayer, this passage discusses first the pneumatic continuity of the Church and its ministry with our Lord and his Apostles (Ap. Tr. 3.3) and then the office and authority of the bishop (3.4, 5).³⁰ Under both aspects, however, the succession terminology is considerably more explicit and elaborate than in Ap. Tr. The majestic but less precise "pneūma hēgemonikón" is here described as "*tō en ekklēsia paradothēn hágion pneūma*". The Apostles first received (*tychóntes*) this gift and communicated it (*metédosan*) to the faithful. The bishops, as diádochoi of the Apostles,³¹ share (*metéchontes*) this same gift as well as the three-fold episcopal office. They must be faithful in the things entrusted to them (*en hois pepisteúmetha*) and must share (*koinōnoúntes*) with all whatever the Spirit supplies in refutation of error or in understanding of all that the truth has received (*paralabousa*) by the grace of the Father.

This language is undoubtedly emphatic, but is difficult to interpret because it stands almost completely alone.³² It must be remembered that Hippolytus was a heresy-hunter rather than an ecclesiological theoretician, and he is here writing not a treatise on the episcopate but a "Refutation of all heresies". His impressive but isolated words would be seriously misunderstood if they were too freely interpreted in terms of later concepts which Hippolytus himself may not have entertained at all.

No other passage in Ref. applies the verbs paradídōmi or metadídōmi to the Holy Spirit or discusses a transmission of the Spirit in the Church. The fact that the Apostles transmitted the Holy Spirit "*tois orthōs pepisteukōsin*"—the same term used in Ap. Tr. 1.6 of the faithful believers who are presumably not at

³⁰ A detailed comparison of the passages is given in Hamel (n. 3), p. 171.

³¹ Although the word epískopos nowhere occurs in this passage (Ref. mentions catholic bishops only in 9.11.10, 21), the diádochoi are clearly the bishops. This is the consistent reference of the subsequent archieratēla in Hippolytean ecclesiology, and Hippolytus (the counter-bishop) is here speaking of himself.

³² Cf. A. Ehrhardt (n. 10), p. 125, "Apart from the introduction to the Philos., no sayings of Hippolytus can be quoted which directly support the theory of Apostolic Succession." No reference to succession or horizontal transmission is found in the parallel passages from Ap. Tr.

the head of the Church— argues against the assumption that this transmission was understood to be accomplished by episcopal (or other) ordination.³³ The ascriptive position of paradothén and the omission of the article with ekklēsia suggest rather an emphasis upon the nature and quality of the Holy Spirit; he is the kind of Spirit who is received only within the Church, for he is the Spirit who indwells the Body of Christ. But it is clear from Ap. Tr. that Hippolytus understood the Spirit to be given by God (vertically), through baptism and ordination and in answer to prayer, to all the faithful—but always and only within the true Church.³⁴

Two previous passages in the preface had spoken of the paradidomi of heretical doctrines, and this is the consistent use of the verb throughout Ref.³⁵ Furthermore, in his encyclopedic treatise Hippolytus is constantly forced to expose the twisted and tortured heretical doctrines concerning the Holy Spirit. Perhaps his unusual language in Ref. 1 praef. 6 was thus intended to contrast the Spirit of truth, who is known and lives only in the Catholic Church, and who inspires and guards her apostolic tradition, with the spirit of error which has beguiled men into the dark labyrinth of heretical traditions.³⁶

³³ Hamel (n. 3), p. 165, infers that "those believing rightly" must in fact be bishops; but since even the following clause does not say that only bishops receive "this grace" nor that it is given only in ordination, nothing in Ref. requires such an unnatural interpretation of the term. The identical phrase in Ap. Tr. 1. 6, and the similar language elsewhere in Ref. and in Ap. Tr. (see Ch. III, n. 72, 73), give convincing grounds for holding that all the faithful are intended by "*tois orthōs pepisteukōsin*".

³⁴ Hippolytus states that the Apostles imparted (metēdosan) the Holy Spirit to the faithful (cf. Acts. 8.15, 17-19), but he does not explain how they did this, nor does he say that the bishops have power to do the same.

³⁵ Cf. also Ref. 4.14.17, 4.15.1, 4.42.1, 5.2.1, 5.23.1f, 9.23.1, 9.28.4; cf. 8.18.2 of "*tà tē ekklēsia hypō tōn apostolōn paradedoména*" and the reference to written and oral Christian didachē in 5.23.1.

³⁶ Cf. Ref. 7.32.5f. Hamel (n. 3), p. 164, "Es geht in Ref. 1 praef. 6 nur darum, die Kirche im Gegensatz zur Häresie als die Inhaberin des Heiligen Geistes und darum des richtigen Glaubens sowie der richtigen Lehre darzutun." Cf. v. Campenhausen (n. 11), p. 192.

The bishops are the more responsible to fight heresy, because they are the diádochoi of the Apostles ("ἡὸν ἡμεῖς diádochoi"). The hōn probably refers to "the apostles" rather than to "those believing rightly", since it is associated with the high priesthood, teaching office, and guardianship of the bishop. On the other hand, the following paragraph accuses the heretics of "not preserving the succession of any saint" ("εἰ τίνος ἁγίου diádochen phyláxantes", Ref. 1.1.8). Ref. 9. 7. 3 refers to the pontificates of Zephyrinus and Callistus as their "succession", but all other uses concern the succession of heretical teachers in their schools.³⁷ In summary, Hippolytus seems to have followed Irenaeus' emphasis upon the episcopal succession of teachers but showed no tendency to emphasize a uniquely charismatic succession of orthodox bishops or their prolongation of the apostolic office.

As successors of the Apostles the bishops "share this grace", i.e., the divine Grace-Gift of "τὸ en ekklēsia paradothen hágion pneúma".³⁸ Hippolytus does not suggest that this gift is due exclusively to episcopal ordination nor that only bishops share it; to the contrary, Ap. Tr. shows how greatly Hippolytus esteemed the work of the Spirit in all the faithful. But as successors of the Apostles the bishop also share in high priesthood. | This clause goes beyond Ap. Tr. in that it links the bishop's high priesthood with his succession from the Apostles. But the passage stands in almost total isolation; Hippolytus does not elsewhere explain how he understands this relationship, nor does his doctrine of the apostolate emphasize the high priesthood of the Twelve.³⁹ More

³⁷ Ref. 1.2.1, 1.5.1, 6.55.3, 9.8.1 ("τές genealogías autὸn tēn diadochen epedexamen"), 9.10.9, 10.27.1. In 6.43.5 dia-déchomai is used of the succession of letters one after another.

³⁸ It is evident from the position of the correlative "te...te" that the archiereías and didaskalías do not complement cháritos; the sense is "sharing both the same grace (the Spirit) and (also) the high priesthood and teaching", rather than "sharing the same grace of high priesthood and teaching." This is also clear from the main point which Hippolytus is making, viz. that the Holy Spirit refutes heresy through the orthodox bishops (cf. Ref. 1 praef. 7); see Hamel (n. 3), p. 163.

³⁹ According to Ref. 6.32.2 the Valentinians called Jesus "ho archiereūs ho mégas". Ref. 9.30.7 states that the Judaists expect that Israel will some day fulfill its regal and sacerdotal functions (basileion kai hierateūon) in Jerusalem. Aside from these passages priestly concepts do not recur in Ref.

characteristic of his thought are the subsequent clauses, that the bishop shares the teaching (or, teaching office) of the Apostles and is the responsible guardian of the Church's doctrine.⁴⁰

It is clear from Ap. Tr. and Ref., that Hippolytus considered the bishop as a Successor of the Apostles, who received the same Holy Spirit which Christ bestowed upon them, the same high priesthood, teaching office and guardianship, and the same authority to forgive sins, give lots, and loose all bonds. Ap. Tr. emphasizes the link between episcopal ordination and these privileges, although it also indicates that they were extensively shared with the presbyters and that the same Epiklesis of the Apostolic Spirit may have been prayed over presbyters as well as bishops. The preface of Ref., in a single passage whose isolation and occasional ambiguity make its interpretation extremely difficult, provides the one specific reference to Apostolic Succession from the pen of Hippolytus. The prerogatives inherited by the bishop from the Apostles, however, do not seem to be those which are vital and central in Hippolytus' view of the apostolate. Hippolytus nowhere suggests that the bishop actually succeeded to the essential authority and dignity of the Apostles, and it is doubtful that he would have equated the episcopal office with the apostolic. His interest certainly lay elsewhere. He wished to demonstrate that there is a Spirit-given continuity of apostolic Truth within the Catholic Church and that he as a bishop was both obligated and qualified to defend it against all the perverse progeny of falsehood.

Apostolic Tradition. It is no coincidence that the two major theological works of Irenaeus and Hippolytus respectively bear almost identical titles. The bishop of Lyon wrote a treatise entitled "*Élenchos kai anastrophē tēs pseudōnýmou gnōsēōs*" and another called "*Epideixis tōi apostolikōi kerygmatos*." The two major theological works of his disciple, the Roman counter-bishop, are "*Katà pasōn hairēseōn élenchos*" and "*Perì charismatōn Apostolikē Parádosis*".⁴¹ The obvious reason was that both

⁴⁰ The "phrouroi...lelogisménoi" of Ref. is considerably less precise and juristic than the emphasis upon the bishop as iudex found later, for example, in Cyprian. Furthermore, the syntax of Ref. 1 praef. 6 and the perfect tense of lelogisménoi (in contrast to the two preceding present participles) make it uncertain whether this final clause is grammatically related to the "*diádochoi tygchánontes*" which begins the sentence.

⁴¹ Hipp. had earlier written a briefer compendium, "*Prós hapásas tas hairēseis*".

authors were passionately dedicated to "the tradition of the Apostles" (Hipp., C. Noet. 17) and ardent in defending it against all innovators and perverters of the faith.

The Preface and Epilogue of Ap. Tr. insist with special force that "those at the head of the Church should teach the tradition and maintain it in all things" (1,5). The most important topic ("ad verticem") of the treatise is "the tradition which is proper for the Churches" and "which has continued until now" (1,2, 3).

In Ref. 8.19.2 Hippolytus charges that the Montanists "allege that they have learned something more through these (prophesies) than from the law and the prophets and the Gospels". They magnify themselves above the Apostles and every grace-gift and even presume to be superior to our Lord, in that they innovate (kainízousi) fasts and feasts and heretical doctrines. Hippolytus insists that prophetically revealed truth must be passed on from generation to generation without addition or alteration (De Ant. 2).⁴²

All authoritative tradition in the Church is derived from the Apostles, who through the Spirit taught the Gospel in all the world and witnessed to the life, death, and resurrection of the Son of God.⁴³ The Holy Spirit testified in the Apostles, and to deny their teaching is blasphemy against him (C. Noet. 1, 17). This pristine stream of truth has been handed on by "the blessed presbyters of holy memory" (Ap. Tr. 36.12, C. Noet. 1)⁴⁴ and by the succession of Catholic bishops (Ref. 1 praef. 6). Because the Catholic Church has preserved faithfully this original apostolic doctrine, the heretical schools are condemned by their deviation from "the teaching of the Church" (Ref. 7.32.6, 8.18.2, 8.19.2, 8.20.1).

As the Apostolic Tradition was the formal test of Christian truth, the written Scriptures were the material test.⁴⁵ The heretics take nothing from Scripture but derive their speculations

⁴² De Ant. 2, "oudēn kainotomeīn epicheiroōmen".

⁴³ See above, n. 16f, 20-22; cf. Ref. 8.18.2, "tὰ τὲ ekklēsia hypὸ tὸn apostόlōn paradedomēna"; note also Ref. 5.23.1, and C. Noet 17, "pisteūōmen...kata tēn parádosin tὸn Apostólōn".

⁴⁴ Hamel (n. 3), p. 107, concludes that "nur in unbedeutenden Einzelheiten, niemals aber bei der Begründung der kirchlichen Lehre dogmatischen Inhalts, zieht Hippolyt die Überlieferung der 'Ältesten' als von Wert heran". In Ap. Tr. 36.12 the custom of midnight prayer is traced to the presbyters.

⁴⁵ So Hamel, ibid., pp. 99-110; cf. pp. 7-16 on Hippolytus' view of Scripture.

from pagan philosophy (Ref. 1 praef. 6). Thus, for example, Justinus sought out the folly of the Gentiles, in doctrines entirely opposed to the teaching of Scripture and to the written and oral teaching of the evangelists (Ref. 5.23.1); Noetus and his disciples mutilate the Scriptures, ignoring their context and twisting their meaning (C. Noet. 2-4). In Syria heresy increased because the bishops did not study Scripture (Dan. 4.18-20).⁴⁶

It is the primary duty of the bishop, according to Ap.Tr. and Ref., to guard the purity of this heritage of truth. The bishop must impart to all that which the Holy Spirit of truth supplies; that is, he must refute all false teaching and "bring to light... whatever the truth has received by the grace of the Father" (Ref. 1 praef. 7) through his exposition of the Apostolic Tradition. The bishop must be a faithful student of the inspired Scriptures, not pretending to speak by his own authority nor changing the ancient doctrine in any way but simply presenting the truth of Scripture to those who can rightly believe (De Ant. 2). The bishop who departs from tradition is no longer a bishop of the Church Catholic, but the schismatic founder of a school (Ref. 9.12.26).

Conclusion. This chapter has been necessarily brief; the paucity of evidence as to Hippolytus' theoretical justification of episcopal authority is itself significant. The episcopal concepts of the petulant Roman presbyter do not seem to have grown out of any broad theories of apostolic succession or ordination as the tactful transmission of an objective-ontic Amtsgeist, but rather out of two very different concerns: (1) his ardent traditionalism in both doctrine and church order, despite his apparently unconscious absorption of a few fin de siècle innovations, and (2) his running battle with Zephyrinus and Callistus, first as their un submissive subordinate and later as counter-pope and rival to Callistus.

Hippolytus, apparently oblivious to the diversity of style and thought in the divergent traditions he wove together and to the relative novelty of some of the "apostolic traditions" he defended so ardently, was firmly convinced that the accepted Roman patterns of church order and apostolic doctrine were divinely ordained. His overwhelming concern was the preservation of the Apostolic Tradition in its pristine purity, which he seems to have considered the basic undergirding of all legitimate authority in

⁴⁶ Cf. Cans. Hipp. 1, we have cut off the heretics "weil sie nicht mit den heiligen Schriften, dem Worte Gottes, übereinstimmen und nicht mit uns, den Schülern der Schriften" (Riedel, p. 201).

the Church. Conversely, an unfaithful bishop was ipso facto divested of episcopal authority, and "those at the forefront" were subject to constant critical revision by the faithful who were instructed in the true traditions. This led Hippolytus to view tradition as the transmission and preservation of the original apostolic message (i.e., traditio passiva) rather than the active and creative evolution of fresh dogmas by a clerical magisterium (i.e., traditio activa).

Ordination to the Christian ministry plays a significant role in Hippolytus' concept of ecclesiastical authority, and especially of the episcopal office. While the confessor seems to have possessed automatically the rank of presbyter and the "communem et similem cleri spiritum", only by formal consecration could he acquire the high-priesthood and potestates of a bishop. Likewise, the power to ordain belonged exclusively to the bishop, although in certain aspects the presbyters co-ordained with him. The episcopal ordination prayer, the "argument passage" on diaconal ordination, and the passage on confessors all indicate that ordination was understood as partly imploring and partly recognizing a God-given gift of the Spirit qualifying the candidate for his task, rather than as the direct, ex opere operato impartation of an official charisma in horizontal succession from the ordaining bishop to the ordinand.

Hippolytus clearly finds a certain apostolic basis for episcopal authority, more explicitly perhaps than any of his predecessors in Rome. The bishop receives from God the "princely Spirit" and the high-priestly prerogatives which Jesus had bestowed upon the Holy Apostles. In Ref. 1 praef. 6, written when he was counter-bishop of Rome, he speaks of himself (and other faithful bishops) as "successors of the apostles" (diádochoi). Yet paradoxical though it may seem, Dix and others have rightly pointed out that even in his later writings Hippolytus lacks the one essential ingredient of a doctrine of apostolic succession, viz. the idea of succession itself (diadoche). He shows no tendency to fill in the hiatus between the first-century apostles and the third-century bishop with an unbroken chain of valid episcopal ordinations which would transmit horizontally, from bishop to bishop, an official apostolic-episcopal charisma. His consistent tendency to use the verb paradidomi and the noun diadoche for the transmission of doctrines, whether orthodox or heretical, supports the conclusion that he considered the bishop to be the successor to the teachings of the Apostles and to the cathedra of his deceased predecessor, as Dix has argued, rather than to the Amtsgeist of the living bishop who consecrates him. Furthermore, although the bishops share certain apostolic powers, Hippolytus seems to have understood the essential nature of the apostolic office in terms quite

foreign to his own concept of the episcopal office.

Although it probably cannot be claimed that Hippolytus based episcopal authority on the concept of Apostolic Succession as it later evolved, he undoubtedly contributed to that evolution. He seems to have linked the episcopal office more explicitly to the apostles than had previous Roman authors, and his sharply focused concept of the high-priesthood of the bishop probably had a catalytic effect on the parallel development of the doctrine of apostolic succession. This would be especially true if A. Ehrhardt's argument for the origin of succession theories in the Jewish high-priestly lists is valid.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY

(I) A thorough analysis of the episcopal office in Ap. Tr. demonstrates the important historical principle that an ancient writer and his writings must be interpreted strictly in terms of their own epoch, rather than in terms of issues raised by subsequent developments. It is impossible to classify Hippolytus neatly as a Catholic or a Protestant, an episcopalian or a presbyterian. Rather, his thought gives a cross-section of the emerging concepts and forces which were later to evolve into these familiar patterns.

(II) The ordination rites for bishops and presbyters give clear literary and historical evidence of the fusion of two traditions, one episcopal and one presbyteral. The bishop in Ap. Tr. is "God's ordained high priest", called to offer the gifts of the Church, propitiate God's face, and exercise the exalted exousiai which Christ gave to His Apostles. Yet he exercises this authority in the fullest solidarity with the entire Church and especially with the presbyterate. Like the bishop, the presbyters are "ordained for a priesthood"; Hippolytus gives more emphasis to the unity of the entire presbyterate in this corporate priesthood than to the supremacy of the bishop as the high priest. The episcopal ordination prayer includes the majestic petition for the "pneûma hêgemonikôن"; yet Hippolytus evidently understands this pneûma as the "communis et similis spiritus cleri".

Although the bishop is the supreme and final authority in the Church, he must be elected "ab omni populo". This choice by the Spirit-bearing Body of Christ was the charismatic manifestation of the divine will.

Ap. Tr. ascribes great importance to ordination, dedicating its most important chapters to the subject. The bishop alone had the authority to ordain, yet he did not do so alone, as if by his personal power or charisma. In episcopal ordination all the bishops present laid hands jointly upon the ordinand, while the presbyters and the people prayed for the descent of the Spirit. Furthermore, the bishop who was to pronounce the episcopal ordination prayer during the second imposition of hands was chosen by his colleagues to speak for them. In presbyteral ordination the entire presbyterate joined in laying hands upon their colleague-elect, thus sealing the act of the bishop. Confessors, despite the central importance of ordination, belonged to the presbyterate without imposition of hands. Like presbyters, however, they could attain the high priestly office and potestates of a bishop only

through episcopal ordination. Only the deacons and the minor orders were ordained by the bishop alone.

A charismatic endowment was especially associated with episcopal and presbyteral ordination, although this was not understood mechanically in terms of the horizontal transmission from consecrator to consecrated or of an impersonal Amtsgeist. The emphasis in ordination falls upon prayer, in answer to which God gives the Gift of his Spirit.

(III) In every aspect of the Church's life the bishop exercises the highest and most decisive functions. It is assumed that he is the proper officiant at Holy Communion; yet the eucharist is clearly the corporate act of the entire Church, and the presbyters shared important aspects of the Eucharistic worship. If the bishop was present at an Agape, he naturally led it, but the presbyters and deacons could substitute for him in his absence. It was apparently not normal for the bishop to perform baptisms, but he seems always to have given the final exorcism before baptism, to have blessed the oils for baptism, and to have given the final imposition of hands with anointing (which later, separated from baptism, became confirmation). He was the supreme but by no means the sole exorcist of the Church. Ap. Tr. says little about his power of discipline, government, and absolution, but these seem to have been widely shared with the presbyters.

(IV) The bishops receive from God the same "princely Spirit" and the same power to absolve, ordain, and exorcise, which Christ gave to the Apostles. Although a later writing of Hippolytus (Ref.) refers to the bishops as the successors of the Apostles, an emphasis upon Apostolic Succession is characteristic of neither Ap. Tr. nor the other works of Hippolytus.

No emphasis of this Church Order is more marked than its clamant insistence that all those at the head of the Church must faithfully guard and teach the pure Apostolic Tradition. The bishop bears special responsibility at this point and (according to a later passage from Ref.) is specially qualified for doctrinal guardianship. But much of the teaching was actually done by presbyters and lay instructors, undoubtedly under the surveillance of the bishop. The bishop himself, however, is under the surveillance of a higher authority--the Holy Spirit of God, who lives and works within Christ's Body. That divine Spirit gives perfectam gratiam to all those who believe rightly, so that they might discern how the Church's leaders ought to guide her destinies. When bishop and people alike are faithful to the traditions of the Apostles, the Holy Spirit guides the Church unto the perfect haven (Ap. Tr. 38.4).

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CURRICULUM VITAE

John Edward Stam was born in Paterson, New Jersey, on August 5, 1928, to Jacob Stam, attorney-at-law, and Deana Bowman Stam. After preliminary education in the Paterson Christian Grammar School and in Eastern Christian Academy, he received his liberal arts education, with major specialization in the field of history, at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois. After graduation from Wheaton in 1950, with the degree of B. A. summa cum laude, and graduate studies in Medieval History at Columbia University, New York, he proceeded with graduate work in the John Dickey Memorial Graduate School of Theology (Wheaton, Illinois), from which he was awarded the degree of Master of Theology in the field of Biblical Literature. His thesis was entitled "A Biblical Evaluation of the Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ." Concurrently, he served as pastor of the Grace Baptist Church in Joliet, Illinois. From 1952 to 1954 he completed the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California.

In June of 1954 he was married to the former Doris Emanuelson, and six months later went to Costa Rica, Central America, under the auspices of the Latin America Mission. After a year in the Spanish Language Institute of San José, he was pastor during 1956 of a rural congregation in the tropical lowlands of Costa Rica. In March of 1957 he became Professor of Systematic Theology in the Seminario Bíblico Latinoamericano of San José, Costa Rica, in which position he continues to serve. He is a consulting editor of Pensamiento Cristiano, published in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and has published numerous articles in Spanish and English magazines.

He is an ordained minister of the interdenominational "Asociación de Iglesias Bíblicas" of Costa Rica.

Having obtained a leave of absence from his teaching position in Costa Rica, he pursued doctoral studies from 1961-1964 in the University of Basel, Switzerland, under Professors Bo Reicke, Oscar Cullmann, and Karl Barth. While in Basel he also served as co-pastor of the Spanish-speaking evangelical congregation of that city, and wishes to express his deep gratitude to these beloved Spanish friends for their warm affection and constant encouragement during the years of study in Basel.

The author joyfully joins himself to that grateful company of former students of Professor Bo Reicke, who share a life-long gratitude to him for his spirit of helpfulness and his deep sense of Christian vocation to theological education, and to Mrs. Reicke, whose gracious hospitality provided the human context for many delightful hours of historical and theological discussion. He is

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The author humbly and gratefully dedicates this work to the memory of his mother, Deana B. Stam.

